To Dr B. N. Puri
R C Majumdar
23.12.74

राज्य संग्रहालय पुस्तकालय
प्रो बी एन० पुरी
संग्रह
लखनऊ

To Dr. R. C. Majumdar
with the best of regards.
H B Sarkar
5.9.74

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R. C. MAJUMDAR FELICITATION VOLUME

Edited by
HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR

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R. C. MAJUMDAR FELICITATION VOLUME

EDITOR'S NOTE

The idea of presenting a Felicitation Volume to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the doyen of our historians, on the occasion of his birthday, originated with Shri K. L. Mukhopadhyay, of M/s Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta. As Shri Mukhopadhyay cheerfully agreed to bear the financial responsibility of publishing the volume, the main hurdle in the way of its seeing the light of the day was over. The promoters of the project then contacted the scholars of the East and the West and their offerings of tribute have been stringed together in this volume.

I was connected with the project since its inception. It was indeed a labour of love for me, as the Felicitation volume concerns a person who was my teacher in my University days and happens to be, besides, one of the most outstanding historians of modern times. The charge of editing this volume, however, fell on me when previous workers on the volume had made a mess of it and had already introduced an element of diversity in the use of diacritical marks in some portions, happily small, of the text. The printing of the work was necessarily running behind schedule. There were other factors also, but I do not wish to dilate upon them.

It is fortunate that this doyen of our historians is still with us with his intellectual vigour undiminished. The bibliography of his major works incorporated in this volume indicates the sweep of his intellectual interest and research activities covering an area of almost continental dimension. With his numerous pupils and admirers throughout the world, the editor of this Felicitation Volume now presents the tribute of the scholarly world to his scholarship. May he live long to continue his valuable work ! It is now my pleasant duty to thank Shri K. L. Mukhopadhyay who has offered me all co-operation and has spared no pains to make this volume as attractive as possible.

H. B. Sarkar

ĀCĀRYA ŚRĪ RAMEŚ CANDRA MAJUMDĀR

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

By

B. N. MUKHERJEE

"There is no branch of knowledge which in course of intellectual evolution has exhibited more varied modalities and answered to more contradictory conceptions than has history. There is none which has had and continues to have more difficulty in discovering its distinctive status." Nevertheless, its connotation is definitely expanding, which has inevitably led to the compartmental study of history by individual scholars. But there are still a few savants who can measure the ever widening horizon of history. One of these few celebrities is Ācārya Śrī Rameś Candra Majumdār.

A son of the late Haladhar Majumdār, Śrī Rameś Candra Majumdār was born on December 4 of the year 1888 in the village of Khandarpara in the Faridpur District (now in East Pakistan). After studying in different institutions he became a student of the Ravenshaw Collegiate School (Cuttack), from where he passed the Entrance examination securing first division marks and a Divisional scholarship. He took his F. A. course first in the Brajamohan College (Barisal, now in East Pakistan), and then in the Surendranāth College (Calcutta). In 1907 he stood fourth in the F. A. examination of the Calcutta University and was awarded a scholarship. In the same year he was admitted to the B. A. class of the Presidency College of Calcutta. In 1909 he passed the B. A. examination with Honours in History and received a post-graduate scholarship. He stood second in first class in the M. A. examination in History in the year 1911.

Śrī Rameś Candra Majumdār began his career as a researcher almost immediately after becoming an M. A. His thesis for the Premcānd Rāycānd Scholarship was submitted in 1912. The thesis, which dealt with the "Andhra-Kuṣāṇa Age" was highly appreciated by Dr. Thibaut. It is needless to say that Śrī Majumdār won the scholarship.

His career as a teacher commenced in 1913, when he was appointed a lecturer in the Dacca Government Training College. He, however, soon found himself in his familiar domain, as he joined the History Department of the Calcutta University in the very next year. He was associated with the department for seven years—years which laid the foundation on which was built the edifice of his world-renowned scholarship. During this period he received his Ph.D. degree by submitting a thesis entitled *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, and won the Griffith Memorial Prize of the Calcutta University.

The Dacca University was fortunate enough to avail itself of Śrī Majumdār's service as a professor of History from the year 1921. He became the first Dean of the Faculty of Arts of that University in 1919 and later in 1937 adorned the chair of its vice-chancellor.

In 1928 the historian became a traveller and visited several places of interest in U. K., Holland, France, Germany, Italy and Egypt, and then proceeded to South-East Asia, where he acquired first hand knowledge of several historical sites of Sumatra, Annam, Cambodia, Siam, Malaya, etc.

Śrī Majumdār retired from the Dacca University in 1942. The academic world was, however, fortunate not to lose the teacher Rameś Candra, who had by this time become famous as a very successful teacher and not only as a great scholar. In 1950 he was appointed the principal of the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University. From 1953 to 1955 he was the director of the project for writing the history of the struggle for freedom, sponsored by the Government of India. In 1955 the Nagpur University was fortunate enough to secure his service as the Professor of Ancient Indian History. For some time (in 1958-59) Ācārya Majumdār was also the visiting professor of Indian History at the Universities of Chicago and Pennsylvania (U. S. A.).

Dr. Majumdār's renowned scholarship attracted different academic institutions to invite him to deliver endowment and extension lectures. He delivered the Adharchandra Mukherjee Lectures, the Kamala Lectures, the G. C. Ghosh Lectures and the Vidyāsāgar Lectures at the Calcutta University. the Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwad Lectures at the Baroda University, the William Meyer Lectures at the Madras University, Atombapu Sharma Memorial Lecture at Imphal (Manipur) and the Birla Endowment Lectures at the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, and also gave extension lectures at the Viśva-Bhāratı (West Bengal) and at the Universities of Patna and Jabbalpur, the Andhra University at Waltair, Sheth B. J. Institute of Learning and Research at Ahmadabad, and Heras Institute, Bombay.

The immense value of his contribution to the learned world has also been recognised by associations and governments in various other ways. He was invited to preside over the deliberations of the Indian History Congress (in 1939), the All-India Oriental Conference, (in 1948), etc. He presided over the section of Indology in the XXIII International Congress of Orientalists in Istambul in 1951 and over the section on history in the 1953 session of the *Nikhila Bhārata Vaṅga Sāhitya Sammelana*.

In 1958 he received the Rabindra Memorial Prize of the Government of West Bengal for editing the volumes of the *History and Culture of the Indian People*. He was the president of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta in 1966-67 and 1967-68. He was also the president of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad from 1966 to 1969. He was also a member of the Advisory Board for Archaeology and the Historical Records Commission, Govt. of India. He was an associate member of the Bureau of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, and is the Vice-President of the International Commission for publishing a History of Mankind (Cultural and Scientific Development), sponsored by the UNESCO. He is a member of the National Commission set up by the Government of India for 'Compilation of the History of Sciences in India'.

Dr. Majumdār is an honorary fellow of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, and also of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London. He is also an honorary member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The Asiatic Society of Bombay awarded him the Campbell Gold Medal and the Asiatic Society of Calcutta awarded him the Sir William Jones and B. C. Law Gold medals. In 1965 the Sanskrit College of Calcutta conferred on him the title of *Bhāratatattvabhāskara*.

The Government of West Bengal appointed Dr. Majumdar as the Sheriff of Calcutta for 1967-68. In 1969 the Universities of Calcutta and Jadavpur conferred on him the D. Litt degree (*Honoris Causa*).

These honours showered on him are only small appreciations of Dr. Majumdār's stupendous scholarship, which has produced a very large number of valuable research articles and several outstanding treatises. Among these we may refer to (1) *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, (2) *Ancient India* (*revised edition of the Outline of the Ancient Indian History and Civilisation*), (3) *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East* (vol. I, Champā, vols. II and III—Suvarṇadwīpa), (4) *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, (5) *Greater India*, (6) *Inscriptions of Kambujadeśa*, (7) *Ancient Indian Colonies in South-East Asia*, (8) *Mahārāja Rājvallabh*, (9) *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857*, (10) *Kambujadeśa*, (11) *Classical Accounts of India*, (12) *Three Phases of India's Struggle for Freedom*, (13) *Glimpses of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century*, (14) *History of Freedom Movement in India* (3 vols.), (15) *Svāmī Vivekananda* (16-17) History of *Ancient Bengal and of Mediaeval Bengal*, (in Bengali), (18) *Study of Sciences in Ancient India*, (in Bengali), (19) *Expansion of Aryan Culture in Eastern India*, (20) *Culture in Medieval Bengal* (in English and Bengali), etc. He has also edited the Dacca University's *History of Bengal*, vol. 1, *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* (as a joint editor), the published volumes of the *History and Culture of the Indian People*, *Swāmi Vivekānanda Centenary Memorial Volume*, *The Great Women of India*, etc. He has also been associated with the critical editions of the *Rāmacaritam* and the *Rājavijayanāṭaka*.

These treatises from the pen of Dr. Majumdār have not only solved many riddles but have also furthered our knowledge in various fields of study of Indian

History. In fact, one of the most sterling characteristics of his scholarship is his authoritative knowledge of different periods of Indian History—a rare phenomenon in present generation of scholars. He has a very broad vision of History, and has no parochial or sectarian approach to it. As a true historian, an upholder of truth, he writes whatever he believes honestly after studying relevant sources. He does not distort history in order to please one section or one community of people.

Not only Dr. Majumdār writes history ; he also creates historians. He is a source of inspiration for the younger generation of scholars. Those (including the present writer) who have the good fortune to come in contact with him have been charmed by his pleasing personality and wonderful energy as well as by his awe-inspiring scholarship.

It is very difficult to measure in a few pages the range of scholarship of the doyen of the Indian historians, which has already attained legendary fame. The evaluation of his contribution to historical studies has indeed been the subject of a doctoral thesis submitted to one of the universities in the U. S. A. We are, therefore, restraining ourselves from discussing the subject any further and are ending this short biographical sketch only with the hope that Ācārya Majumdār, the greatest living authority on Indian History, may for many years to come lead the historians of the present age by his kindly light of knowledge.*

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* For information on Dr. Majumdār's life and works see B. N. Mukherjee, "Dr. Rameścandra Majumdāra (in Bengali), Basudhārā, Āshāḍha, 1364, B. S., pp. 262 f ; R. C. Majumdār, "Smṛitikathā" (in Bengali), *Itihāsa*, 1374 B. S., N. S., vol. II, pp. 22f., 112f., 147f., 248f etc. ; R. C. Majumdār, "Reminiscences", *Prācyavidyā-taraṅginī* (edited by D. C. Sircar), pp. 281-286 ; D. R. Das, "Biographical Sketch", *ibid.*, pp. 286-289 ; etc.

ANTHONY CHRISTIE

School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London

The Provenance and Chronology of Early Indian Cultural Influences in South East Asia

Although attempts have been made from time to time to minimise the extent of Indian influences upon South-East Asia, the evidence for their importance is there for all to see and cannot be controverted. To accept that such influences occurred and that they played a significant part in the development of the various cultures of this region is not, however, to endorse the more extreme claims of the Greater India school. For even if we accept the dictum of Sylvain Lévi that India has produced its true masterpieces in foreign lands under foreign inspiration, adding that in architecture it is in distant Cambodia and Java that one must seek the two marvellous products of Indian genius, Angkor Wat and Barabuḍur, we must recognise that these are not Indian monuments. Whatever their ultimate springs and whatever the sources of the religious systems to which they belong, these temples serve not Indian but Khmer and Javanese cultures and peoples. Nor is this all, for even if we accept the basic premise of major Indian influences, there remain many questions which have still to be resolved, questions of chronology and of provenance, of the means by which these influences were transmitted, and, indeed, of the propriety of the very term South-East Asia. For what may be a geographically apt reference or a convenience for military planners and historians, may, nonetheless, in the analysis of cultural history, serve only to mislead and to obfuscate. The purpose of the present paper is to examine but two of the problems: those of chronology and provenance. Those of transmission and of the nature of the recipient region must await another occasion, even though the re-analysis of these questions is equally important for the proper understanding of the role of India in the cultural history of South-East Asia, a study which has always been close to the heart of Dr. Majumdar, to whom this essay is dedicated.

The two monuments instanced by Sylvain Lévi belong respectively to the XIIth and the IXth centuries A. D., but the crucial phase of Indian influences for the cultural history of South-East Asia is that of the formative period when the classical cultures of this region took shape under influences which were predominantly Indian. But the term Indian is itself too imprecise when we try to estimate the nature of these influences and their results. We must therefore try to determine more precisely from which regions of the Indian sub continent and at what periods cultural influences reached South-East Asia. These questions are not new, and it is not unreasonable to cite George Coedès for the answers which, at present, find general acceptance. A glance at the early chapters of *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine ēt d'Indonésie* reveals a picture which M. Coedès epitomises as follows :

> The oldest Sanskrit inscription of Fu-nan is only one and a half centuries later than the date fixed by the Chinese for the foundation of Fu-nan by the union of a brahmin and a naked woman. It seems to me prudent, therefore, to say simply that Indian colonisation, intensive in the IInd and IIIrd centuries A.D., came to full fruition in the IVth and Vth.

On the region of India from which the so-called colonists came, M. Coedès writes :

> We may summarise the position by a slight modification of an opinion of de la Vallée Poussin. Every region of India contributed to this expansion [to the east], but the South played the largest part. There has, perhaps, been some tendency to over-emphasize the role of South India, by attributing an exaggerated influence to the Pallavas. Except in the case of Fu-nan, the appearance of the first epigraphic documents and of the earliest archaeological remains coincides with the ascendancy of the Pallava dynasty and this coincidence has been transformed from a synchronism into a case of cause and effect. We shall see......that at least in the case of Fu-nan there is need to take into account influences from North-west India which have not been noticed until now. But this is not to say that the influence of South India does not remain preponderant.

Thus M. Coedès, whose learning and contributions to the study of the pre-European history of South-East Asia lend great weight to the views which he propounds and which are acceptable to the great majority of scholars who are concerned with the history of this period and area.

These views are, nonetheless, open to grave objections. The data at our disposal are inadequate, although further fieldwork may provide us with new information upon which to base our conclusions. A careful examination of the evidence which we have, including that of the material culture from the region, reveals a picture which is strikingly different from that adumbrated by M. Coedès in his prudent epitome. So far from Indian influences being intensive in the IInd and IIIrd centuries of the Christian era, they are first to be detected in the latter half of the IVth. They are then clearly to be recognised as originating in Western

India, in Surastra, Gujerat and Malva. They become more intensive in the Vth century, and the first Pallava influences are to be seen at the beginning of the VIth century. These are brief, in their pure form, and the western area once again becomes predominant in the shape of Western Chalukyan influence which appears towards the end of this century. At about the same time influence from Bengal can be detected in Arakan. Towards the end of the VII and the beginning of the VIIIth centuries we can see the development of local scripts, although it is interesting to note that a small group of four inscriptions from Central Java, in proto-Nāgari of a later VIIIth century form, shows a distinctly middle Ganges style. In the pages which follow we shall set out the main lines of the arguments which lead to these conclusions, so far removed from the presently accepted view of the spread of Indian influences into South-East Asia. Their detailed demonstration, and the consideration of the other questions to which reference has already been made, will require a further occasion.

In stating the case for this radical revision of the chronology of early Indian influences upon South-East Asia, I am not, of course, unware that objects have been found which pre-date the period to which I propose to assign the first phase of significant Indian influence. But a few seals and a very small number of 'Amaravati' Buddhas do not make an Indian colony any more than the Roman lamp from P'ong-tuk or a gryllus from Oc-eo implies the existence of a second Arikamedu. The existence of these objects, and of others like them, as well as those of Middle Eastern or Medeterranean origin, are of great interest and importance, but they do not demonstrate anything more than that in the IInd and IIIrd centuries A. D. there were trade-routes passing through this region. We have the celebrated mission from An Tun, the King of Ta Ch'in, the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, as a case in point. This reached Tongking, then part of the Chinese empire, in 166 A. D. The Chinese historical sources contain accounts of records of numerous other 'tribute' missions from South-East Asia, or from other areas which arrived in China by way of that region, during this period. In the *Liang shu*, which was compiled in the first half of the VIIth century, we are told that in Han times there were a number of overland embassies from India, especially in the period 89-105 A. D. These were resumed in the reign of Wen-ti (147-167 A. D.) by the southern sea-route. From 220 to 280 A.D., all relations ceased, but in the time of the Wu dynasty (220-280 A.D.), the king of Fu-nan, Pan Chan, sent one of his relatives, Su-wu, on a mission to India.

From Fu-nan he left the port of Ta-kiu-li and followed a great bay of the sea. Directly to the north-west he entered many bays and sailed past many kingdoms. At the end of more than a year he arrived at the mouth of the river of India. After mounting the river for more rhan 7000 *li* they arrived. The king of India was astonished and said : "At the further banks of Ocean there are still these men !" Then he ordered that they be taken on a tour of the kingdom. Further, he appointed two men, one of whom was Ch'en-sung to thank Chan by the gift of four Yue-che horses, and sent back Su-wu and the others. After four years of absence they returned home. At this time the Wu emperor had sent the *Chung-Lang* K'ang T'ai on a mission to Fu-nan. He saw Ch'en-sung and the others and questioned them in detail about the country and customs of India.

This mission and the encounter between the Indian and K'ang T'ai are both important and interesting. It took place some time in the reign of the first Wu emperor, and I am inclined to place it about 250 A.D. It is the first record which we have of anyone from South-East Asia visiting India. There is reason to believe that it was motivated by informed curiosity, although I think that the Chinese source makes it clear that Fan Chan, the king of Fu-nan, was not familiar with India, while the Indian king's reception of the embassy speaks volumes for his ignorance of South-East Asia. We are specifically told that Fan Chan's decision to send his relative to India was inspired by the arrival in Fu-nan of a certain Kia-siang-li, of T'an-yang, a country apparently to the west of India, who had filled the king with tales of the 'wonder that was Ind'. But the account presents a number of difficulties of interpretation which we must examine, if only briefly. It has long been accepted that the river of India is the Ganges, and Sylvain Lévi identified the Indian king with one of the Muruṇḍas. I doubt, however, whether either of these views can be sustained. The length of the voyage is against it, and makes it seem much more likely to me that Su-wu, embarking at Takkola, followed the great curve of the Bay of Bengal, rounded Cape Comorin, and then turned north-westwards to follow the west coast to the river of India. (It would be tempting to equate this with the 'Indian' river *par excellence*, the Indus, but I do not think that there is enough evidence to justify this as more than a hypothesis. I would suggest that the many bays could be equated with those of the Malabar coast which have long been frequented by foreign traders). The case for the view which I am propounding seems to me strengthened by the fact that the trader who was the proximate cause of the mission came from a country to the west of India and was therefore more likely to have been familiar with the western ports and kingdoms than with those of the Gangetic system. Nor do I think that a Gangetic king is likely to have been in a position to export Yue-che horses which seems more probable as a gift from one of the Śaka kingdoms of western India.

It is most unfortunate that the book which K'ang T'ai wrote as a result of his South-East Asian mission has been lost, for it would have provided an extensive documentation for the present study. Parts of it have, however, been preserved in other works. What has survived, like other sources from this period, does not furnish any clear evidence of Indian culture as a dominant or even a major feature of the kingdoms of South-East Asia at this time. The first reference which seems to imply a ruler who is either an Indian or an Indianised local king is also to be found in the *Liang shu.* In 357 A.D. the (T'ien-) chu Ch'an-t'an sent to the Chinese emperor a memorial and a gift of tamed elephants. According to the *Chin shu,* which refers to the period 265-419 A.D. but which was compiled in the VIIth century, these beasts were not accepted, on the grounds that earlier emperors had decreed that strange animals from far-off countries were a source of evil for the people. The *Liang shu* says that they were refused on account of the expense of such beasts. What is of interest is that there are a number of reference to the skill of South-East Asian peoples in the training of wild animals, while the glyptic of Oc-eo includes the representation of elephants in harness, the presence of bi-valve moulds testifying to the fact that these pieces were manufactured locally. More important, perhaps, for our present purposes, is the fact we have here what seems to be a definite reference to an Indian (T'ien-chu) ruler. Sylvain Lévi identified his name Ch'an-t'an with the Indo-scythian title Chandana and went so far as to suggest that his presence in Fu-nan was the direct result of Samudragupta's campaigns :

> In 357 A.D., under the great emperor Samudragupta, all northern India was obedient to the Gupta dynasty : the Scythian invaders were repelled. It is not impossible that a branch of the Kushan family, driven from the banks of the Ganges, sought its fortune on the other side of the Bay of Bengal in that Land of Gold, (Suvarṇabhūmi, Chryse), which was open to Indian adventurers.

In my view these speculations go further than any evidence at our disposal can possibly justify and I cannot help feeling that Lévi's concentration upon the Ganges valley was due largely to his identification of the king visited by Su-wu with a Gangetic Muruṇḍa. Once again I am inclined to look to western India, where Indo-scythian titles more naturally belong, if indeed we are really in the presence of a ruler of Indian origin, a point which R.A. Stein thinks unlikely. For we are now approaching the period of the first epigraphs and their script is undoubtedly related to that of the Gujerat-Malva region. But before we turn to consider the palaeographical evidence, I wish to consider a most important piece of information from the *Liang shu.*

After recording the gift of Ch'an-t'an the text continues.

One of the successors Kiao-chen-ju [unquestionably a trancription of

> Kauṇḍinyal was by origin an Indian brahmin. He heard a supernatural voice which said to him : You must go and reign in Fu-nan. Kauṇḍinya rejoiced in his heart. In the south he arrived in P'an-p'an......The people of Fu-nan learnt of it. All the kingdom arose in joy, went before him and elected him king. He changed all the rules according to the methods of India, Kauṇḍinya died. One of his successors Śrī...ta-pa-mo [?? Rudravarman], at the time of the emperor Wen (424-453 A.D.) presented a memorial and sent tribute.

This passage I would interpret as follows. Some time between 357 A.D. and the reign of the emperor Wen, an Indian brahmin arrived in Fu-nan and changed the rules according to the methods of India. In other words he introduced the *dharmaśāstra*. M. Coedès refers to this interesting, indeed crucial, episode under the rubric :

> The recrudescence of Indian emigration and the second Indianisation of Fu-nan in the Vth century.

(In passing we should note that it is from this point onwards that the Chinese texts refer to the rulers by the name Kauṇḍinya : the previous name had been Fan, a term to which we shall return below). For M. Coedès this is a second Indianisation and indeed a second Kauṇḍinya, because he is convinced that the story (which may have been recorded by K'ang T'ai) of Hun-t'ien of Kiao or Mo-fu and the naked woman called Willow-leaf is the story of the first Indianisation ; that Hunt'ien is another transcription of Kauṇḍinya ; and that

> the historical events which were subsequently clothed in this legendary form could not have been later than the 1st century A.D., since from the following century onwards one finds oneself in the presence of historical personages whose reality is attested by epigraphy and the Chinese historians.

Even if we are to accept M. Coedès' outline chronology, there is nothing in the basic story of Hun-t'ien which connects it any way with India. Yet for M. Coedès, this legend enshrines the first important act of Indianisation. Indeed, he goes further, asserting that this story is

> without doubt a deformation of an Indian legend more faithfully, recorded in a sanskrit inscription of Campa.

We must therefore examine more closely the story of Hun-t'ien and Liu-ye.

Inevitably this examination will involve us in certain questions of the royal nomenclature of South East Asia, questions which also give rise to palaeographical problems. Here one ventures upon dangerous ground : it was de la Vallée Poussin who describe palaeography is *une petite science conjecturale.* There will always be room for conjecture in the absence of directly dated inscriptions to serve as a firm frame-work for a proper South-East Asian chronology, but a recent re-survey of all the data from that region leaves little real room for doubt on certain points. For our present purposes, the most important of these is that, with the possible exception of some of the seals from Oc-eo (which may well be imported pieces or the property of Indians), the earliest of the epigraphs cannot be earlier than the end of the IVth c. A.D. This is the Vo-canh inscription (which was once dated by Sircar at about 440 A.D.) and which is sometimes referred to as the Śrī Māra inscription. It is, in fact, of an unknown writer who is of the *kula* of the *rāja śri Māra*. The name serves to draw attention to the problem of nomenclature already mentioned, for so far as I am aware Māra is not used as in India as either royal or a personal name, though it does occur as a name for Kāmadeva or for the Buddhist Tempter. Attempts have been made to equate it with various names which are found in the Chinese king-lists of either Lin-i or Fu-nan but these are not well-founded. It cannot be phonetically equated with (Fan Shih) Man as has been suggested by M. Coedès. The problem must, in my view, remain unresolved, but it is worth noting that it is probably a sanskritisation of a native name, a feature which is common enough in early South-East Asian history. For in a number of cases we find that a king will record a list of his forebears which shows a non-Indian name within a generation or two before his own. We may cite the case of Mūlavarman whose father, the *vamśakṛt*, was Aśvavarman while his grandfather was called Kuṇḍunga, manifestly a native name. The founder of the Matarām dynasty was Sañjaya, nephew of Sannāha, equally a non-Indian name. In Arakan we may cite the case of Dveṅ candra. It seems probable, therefore, that at Vo-canh we have the same phenomenon and that Śrī Māra was the founder of a *kula* which subsequently became Indianised, and the founder's name sanskritised. We may then set out a *schema* of the following :

c. 350 A.D.	'Śrī Māra'—a native ruler
357 A.D.	The Indian Ch'an-t'an
then	Kauṇḍinya who changed the laws in accordance with those of India
c. 400 A.D.	Vo-canh inscription (script of western Indian origin).

To this same period, or a little later, belongs the epigraph found by Dr. Wales at Kedah I and also that, now lost, from Bukit Meriam in the same region. Both these show the same Gujerat-Malva script and may, indeed, pertain to a tributary state of Fu-nan which is known to have exercised suzerainty right round the littoral of the Gulf of Siam.

Let us now return to the story of Hunt-t'ien and Liu-ye, the queen of Fu-nan. This tells how a devotee of a spirit acquires a magic bow, takes a ship, sails to Fu-nan overcomes the queen's army, takes the royal power, marries the queen and insists that for the future she dresses in a more seemly manner than heretofore. (It is interesting to note, and not irrelevant, that according to the Chinese sources it was K'ang T'ai who taught King Fan Hsiun the proper way to dress). This story provides, according to M. Coedès, the account of the first Indianisation of South-East Asia in the marriage of an orthodox Brahmin with a native ruler, a story which is

> without doubt a deformation of an Indian legend more faithfully recorded in a Sanskrit inscription of Campa.

The difficulty is that the stories have, in point of fact, virtually nothing in common ; the earliest version of this story as an Indian dynastic myth of the kind and form required here seems to be a Pallava copper-plate of the IXth c. A.D., which fits well with the Campa version, from Mi-son, which is in a Pallava script. It is true that the final versions of the Hun-t'ien story could be read as belonging more or less to the Kauṇḍinya-Aśvathāman-Droṇa cycle of the Pallava dynastic legend, but it must be stressed that these versions are of a time much after the events to which they purport to belong and after the Pallava story was already on record in Campa. In what Pelliot considers the earliest version of the story there is nothing to indicate that Hun-t'ien is a Brahmin, nor indeed that he comes from India. Nor is it at all necessary to treat the name as a transcription of Kauṇḍinya. A clue to the more probable interpretation is to be seen in the name of the naked Queen, Liu-ye, Willow-leaf. Pelliot objected that it was unlikely that a queen in southern Indochina would be called willow-leaf, since the tree is unknown there. He therefore proposed a graphic emendation to read Ye-ye, Coconut Leaf. In fact, the emendation may well be unnecessary, for, against Pelliot, I believe that Liu-ye is a transcription of a word for coconut, the Chinese characters in their reconstructed form being an equivalent of Cam *lu-o* (cf. Semang : *lo-urr*).

I therefore propose to treat Hun-t'ien in the same way as being a transcription of some South-East Asian name or title for which I would suggest some connection with the forms *khun/kun* (cf. Cam ; *kuno* to reverence) which is probably also to be seen in the term *k'un-lun*, since we frequently learn from Chinese sources that ministers are called by this term or variants thereof. I am also inclined to equate the *t'ien* with the Thai *tin*, in the royal titulary, meaning realm or territory. On this basis, Hun-t'ien can be treated, rightly I believe, as a wholly South-East Asian phenomenon.

We find considerable confirmation for this approach if we turn to the history of Lin-i, the proto-Cam kingdom which was established as the result of revolt led by a sinised native official at the end of the IInd c. A.D. when the Han dynasty was in its death-throes. The precise location of the state is uncertain but M. Stein has shown that its capital was probably immediately to the north of Hue, a view which

I share after careful investigations on the ground. Here the capital stayed until its transfer to Tra-kieu in 605 A.D., though other centres also developed in importance. It is most significant that in the early Chinese accounts of this kingdom there is nothing to indicate any Indian influences, although the Dong-duong Buddha is probably an Indian import and should certainly be treated as being in the Amaravati style. If we study the inscriptions, it is clear that they too are in the Gujerat-Malva script which we have seen at Vo-canh (an epigraph which could belong either to Lin-i or to Fu-nan). The earliest inscriptions, those of Cho-dinh, Hon-cuc and Mi-son must be of Vth c. date. To these must be added, and it is of the greatest importance, the inscription of Dong-yen-chau, the earliest in a South-East Asian language. It is useful to refer to this as a Cam inscription, but it would probably be wiser to call it 'Indonesian'. This may be as late as the mid-Vth c. A.D. Its importance lies in the fact that it proves the presence of a regime which used an Indonesian language and this gives us a vital clue in the study of the king-lists.

Of the early kings of Lin-i, few, if any have Indian names. It is possible that Fan Fu might represent a Buddha.° He reigned during the period 351-377 A.D. and campaigned againt the Chinese who retaliated by investing one of his cities called Fu-pao cheng. This name could be a translation of Buddhaguptapura, and we might therefore postulate a king * Buddhagupta, but this is no more than a tentative suggestion. It must, however, be asserted categorically that there can be no question of Fan Fu transcribing Bhadravarman, as has been suggested by M. Coedès. M. Stein has shown with a wealth of documentation that Fan transcribes a whole series of native terms of the order BRM/PRM, and, by extension, KRM. This name, which figures so largely in the early king-lists is, in all probability a type of ethnic which is included in the kingly title, and it can be identified with certain ethnics which occur widely in Indo-china. I refer, by way of example, to the term *Cam beiam*, a name applied by tribes of the Annamite Chain, to the Chams, and which almost certainly retains in its second half the term which the Chinese transcribed as **biwam*, As for Fu, **biuat*, this is inconceivable as a transcription of Bhadra in any Chinese system.

If we turn to the next name in the king-list, as it is preserved in the Chinese sources we find a very interesting case. According to the *Shui ching* (compiled by Li Tao-yuan in the VIth c. A.D., from earlier material), in the account of the capital of Lin-i, there is on a winding road that leads from the east gate, a stela which, in barbarian writing, extols the virtue of the dead king Hu-ta. We must, I believe, accept that the writing is Indian, but the king's name, which also exists in a variant form Siu-ta, provides an important proof of the 'Indonesian' nature of the rulers' names. For the transcribed forms, *γuo-d'at *siu d'at

are variants on known Indonesian forms

Cam : *hadah, hudah* Bahnar : *sodah*

meaning brilliant. These might, I feel, be Sanskritised as Bhadra, but the important thing is that we are here in the presence of native kings with non-Indian names. The same is true of one of the immediate successors, Fan Yang-mai, which surely must transcribe *yang-mah*, Golden Prince, a king of whom the later legends tell, and which is confirmed by the Chinese sources which report that his name is connected with the native term for a certain type of gold. This is not the place to go into long and detailed linguistic arguments, but it is noteworthy that something in the order of 75% of the names in the early king-lists of Lin-i and Fu-nan can be shown to be of South-East Asian origin, with no signs of Indianisation.

It will be clear that on the present evidence there were kingdoms of some importance in South-East Asia well before the impact of Indian culture and ideas gave rise to the civilisations which were responsible for the great monuments to which Sylvain Lévi referred. It is, in fact, not until the end of the IVth c. A.D. that Indian influences are significant in this area. When these influences came, they originated in western India. This claim is substantiated by the palaeographical evidence, but there is a further proof which is of great interest and importance. It has long been emphasised by M. Coedès that the *deva-rāja*, the *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* of the later Khmer inscriptions, took the form of a liṅga which was obtained by the intercession of a brahmin from Śiva. This was the royal palladium and was thought to enshrine the very essence of kingship. Now the history of liṅga worship in India is a vexed and difficult one. De la Vallée Poussin wrote that liṅgaism properly speaking was born and lived in the South, but it is important to note that liṅgas as part of an organised cult and as officially recognised royal cult objects in particular, do not occur in the southern literature before the VIth c. A.D. Nor, with the possible exception of the Gudimallam liṅga (which I am inclined to date rather later than is conventionally the case, perhaps as late as VIIth c. A.D.) is there any other evidence of a formal liṅga cult before the Pallava period. If, however, we turn to the north and the west, a find a quite different picture. Discarding the claims made for the inscribed liṅga from Bhita which can hardly be 2/3rd c. B.C. since the script is clearly Kushana, we find that the earliest specimens come from the Mathura region. And it is precisely from this region that we find, in Gupta times, the practice of dedicating liṅgas with a personalised name °*isvara* which is the practice in Campa when we first find cult in existence. Once again we are in the west of India, and at a time which is not incompatible with the rest of our evidence.

After the first period of Indian influence, originating in western India and beginning towards the end of the IVth c. A.D. we find that the South-East Asian evidence at our disposal increases considerably, both in quantity and in breadth of distribution. In addition to the inscriptions from Mi-son (Campa), we have material from Indonesia, Cambodia and Burma. At the beginning of the VIth c. A.D., at a time when China was weak, and South-East Asian markets were open to Indian mercantile expansion, we find a number of inscriptions which reflect this state of affairs and also indicate how the trading centres of South India were developing at the expense, perhaps, of those of western India. The Mūlavarman inscriptions of Borneo are in a southern script, though it does not appear to be the full Pallava style ; this can, however, be seen in Pūrṇavarman's inscriptions from Tāruma, West Java. (The-shell script here is a separate problem). These belong to the beginning of the VIth c. A.D. and a little later, as do the Thap Muoi, Ta Prom and Nak Ta Dambang Dek epigraphs from Indo-china, the first of which contains the only reference I know to the great Pallava centre of Kāncipura. Also in this period are the Si Tep inscriptions and some from Malaya : Cherok Tukun and that of the Mahānāvika Buddhagupta. Towards the end of this century belong those of Tham Prasat, Phnom Bantay Nang, and that of Thma Kre which shows s mixture of Pallava and Western Calukyan styles. This is of great importance since it is a Chen-la inscription and the evidence we have points to a clear link between the royal families of Lin-i and Chen-la. The archaeology of the period is limited, but it does show that there are clear Cam influences in the earliest buildings of Fu-nan Chen-la/Kambujadeśa. If then we bear in mind the strong and continuing links between Campa and West India, which are substantiated by the palaeography, we can see how it is that Western Calukyan influences are to be seen in the Chen-la epigraphs just before the fall of Fu-nan to its erstwhile tributary. This is no doubt the source too of the inscriptions of Kambujadeśa : Han-chey can be placed to the beginning of the VIIth c. A.D., while the dated inscriptions of Bayang (624 A.D.) and Ang Pou (628 A.D.) confirm the palaeographical conclusions as well as the historical picture which the palaeography demonstrates. It seems likely that the early inscriptions from Nak'on Si Th'ammarat and Tuk Mas (C. Java) belong to the end of the VIth c. A.D : they are of South Indian style. To complete this summary survey of the data at our disposal, I note briefly the material from Burma. Here there appear to be no inscriptions of an earlier date than the VIth c. A.D. The Hawgun Cave inscription is clearly South Indian; while the Buddhist plates from Hmawza are definitely Pallava. The Pyu inscriptions, on the other hand, are more complicated. One at least seems to have late brahmi akṣaras between the lines of Pyu, but this may not be significant since brahmi forms persist in Ceylon until at least the Vth c. A.D. A bilingual inscription in Pyu and 'Sanskrit' (the caution is required in view of the difficulties not only in reading but also in construing this text), shows standard Pyu forms side by side with a kutilya script which can be dated fairly certainly to the beginning of the VIIth c. A.D. Pyu itself seems to derive from a number of Indian scripts. This is probably to be explained by the fact that the script seems to have been constructed quite specifically to write Pyu, unlike other South-East Asian alphabets applied to native languages which simply utilise whatever Indian script is currently available to local scribes.

A basic difficulty of South-East Asian archaeology has always been the absence of early structural remains. On the orthodox view of the historical chronology this has meant a gap of some centuries between the period of intensive Indianisation and the first major remains. It was, in fact, this gap, filled by such authorities as MM. Parmentier and Marchal with *structures légères* in bamboo and wood, that first led me to examine the problem of dating the first period of Indian influences. For though it is true that South-East Asia has always been a region of bamboo culture, it is difficult to believe that all the permanent buildings had in fact vanished or that the alleged colonists, coming from a land where temples and stūpas had been built in their hundreds for centuries before the postulated date of their departure for Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa, would have been content with bamboo huts to house their gods. If, however, the view which has been presented in this paper is accepted, that Indian influences are not significant before the latter half of the IVth c. A.D., much of the difficulty vanishes. For we have the footings and foundations of buildings discovered in Malaya, Thailand and the Mekong Delta which probably represent the first building period and which seem to show late Gupta influence. There is also an amount of early statuary which requires detailed study in this connection. For the problem is not simply one of Indian affiliations. The well-known Kṛṣṇagovardhana from Vat Koh (in the Phnom Penh Museum) is quite unlike any early Indian portrayals of this theme: indeed, the treatment of the supporting arm is almost eastern Mediterranean. The Sūrya from Phnom Ba The is clearly North Indian in inspiration, but the whole question of Sūrya cults, particularly in their South-East Asian forms, is complex, and involves considerations of western, perhaps Śaka, influences to which we have already had occasion to refer. (In this connection, it is interesting to note how South-East Asia uses the Śaka era even when using Pallava script, something which the Pallavas themselves never did). That we have to look wider than India for the sources of this art should occasion no surprise for the Mekong Delta sites, which are the only ones so far explored, in however limited a manner, have revealed objects from the Near and Middle East belonging precisely to the period of South-East Asian development before Indian influences become predominant in the overt manifestations of the region's cultural history. But even after this stage, there are signs of a persisting influence from further west than the Indian sub-continent. The East Zegu at Hmawza, Burma, could be a square section West Calukyan building, but the window recesses are constructed with the true arch in a form which seems clearly to belong to the Middle East. On the other hand, the great stūpas at the same site appear to owe much to some pilgrim's or traveller's recollection of the Dhamekh Stūpa at Sarnath. Again we have at Hmawza the possibility that a megalithic alignment has been re-used for Buddhist ends, perhaps to form a *buddhacankrama*, a possibility which draws attention to the need to study the extent to which the prehistoric cultures of South-East Asia have played a major part in determining the patterns of later development. Only thus, perhaps, can we explain the fact that so few of the images form early South-East Asian historical sites are really Indian in their appearance and treatment.

There are certain external factors which serve to substantiate the picture of the South-East Asia's early history which has been outlined in the preceding pages. The interruption of the Central Asia land trade-routes led to the development of maritime intercourse between western and eastern Asia and this brought South-East Asia into world history, as it were. These events lay in the first two centuries of the Christian era. The passage of foreign traders through the region, and Chinese expansion southwards to secure vital ports brought a degree of prosperity to the area already rich in natural resources. The same events probably led also to the introduction of new ideas, and certainly encouraged local tribal chieftains to consolidate power in an endeavour to obtain the maximum benefit from these foreign intrusions. Thus conditions arose in which local kingdoms were able to evolve to a considerable level of sophistication and economic development before there was any question of substantial Indian influences. These, indeed, did not reach significant propositions until some two centuries after the date accepted conventionally for their appearance. It seems probable that the collapse of the Roman Empire with the consequent dislocation of the market and trade patterns of the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East gave rise to a situation in which India was encouraged to venture into trading to the East on its own account, a venture which conditions in India itself under the Guptas made both possible and profitable. The trade which had been in part dependent upon the needs of the Roman Empire had been closely linked with the western Indian coast and hinterland, so that it was only natural that the first expansion eastwards should originate from the same region. The partial shift to the south and to the eastern ports of the Pallava kingdom was a result of Indian political developments, but the west coast still retained some of its old importance and lexpains Hsuan Tsang's account of the prosperity of Malva in the VIIth c. A.D.

It is fitting to offer this account of a new view of the early history of South-East Asia in a volume dedicated to Dr. Majumdar. Withou his pioneer work in this difficult field, and the scholarship which he brought to bear upon the problems of a region which owes so much to the Indian culture and civilisation of which his learning is so worthy a manifestation, the work of a new generation of students would be sadly handicapped. It may seem ironical that it appears without the conventional apparatus of notes and references, matters about which Dr. Majumdar set the highest standards. But is an essay intended to invite discussion, to set out an hypothesis. I hope in the light of my colleagues' comments and criticisms to produce a definitive version. In the meantime they will have no difficulty in identifying the sources for the conventional views which I criticise : the heresies, my own, here see the light for the first time.

H. L. SHORTO

The Gavampati Tradition in Burma

Paul Lévy, in the Jordan Lectures of 1953, redirected our attention to the traditions concerning Gavampati found in early accounts of the first Buddhist Council.[1] In the 'Sutra of the Compilation under Kāśyapa' (*Chia-yeh chieh ching*) and elsewhere, we read that the arahat was sent for to complete the number of five hundred needed to establish the text of the scriptures ; but when the message reached him in his heavenly retreat, he immolated himself amid miracles, following the Buddha into nirvana. Particulars given in the *Fên-pieh kung-tê lun*, a commentary on the *Ekottara-āgama*, suggest that Gavampati may have been the central figure of a bull cult, popularly transformed into a Buddhist saint.[2]

I am not now concerned to enter the controversy as to the origin and antiquity of this legend. But, since a Mon 'cult' of Gavampati has been cited in connection with it[3] there is reason to examine the Burmese traditions concerning the saint and to inquire into the relationship between these and the Indian stories.

The earliest reference in Burma to Gavampati—the Pali form of the name, by which he is generally known there—is in an eleventh century inscription from Pagan, and it is from that kingdom in the days of its greatness that almost all the evidence for a cult as such is derived. But the documents of the period are silent as to the legend of the saint himself. Therefore, before the rather scanty evidence which they contain can be interpreted, it will be necessary to review the accounts of Gavampati's nature and deeds, later in date though most of these are.

The protective function which Gavampati exercised at Pagan emerges from the group of Kyanzittha's inscriptions published in *Epigraphia Birmanica*, 1, 2. The extent of Mon influence at the court of this king, who ruled from 1084 to 1112, is well known, and these epigraphs in the language of the subject race are sharply distinguished from contemporaneous Burmese records with their emphasis on pious works and aspirations after nirvana. Like the unpublished Mon inscriptions of Thaton, they are concerned with the glorification of the king, often achieved by casting eulogy of the *praśasti* type in the form of a supposed prophecy of the Buddha—a device which we meet again in the literature of Pegu. The fullest of the series is the 'Great' inscription of the Shwezigon pagoda at Pagan, No. I in the volume in question.

In this we are told how the Buddha, becoming aware of the future coming of Kyanzittha, smiled ; and, when Ānanda asked Him the reason, said that a rishi, Bisnū (Vishnu), was to found the city of Sisīt (Śrī Kṣetra or Old Prome) with the aid of Gavampati, Indra, the *devaputta* Viśvakarman, and the Nāga king Kṛtakarman

After a further existence spent in the Brahma world he was to be reborn as Kyanzittha. Gavampati, appearing then at the mention of his name, was sent to bid Indra help the rishi both at the founding of Sisīt and in his later incarnation as the king, and so went and informed him in the Tāvatiṁsa heaven. Not long after the *parinibbāna* Gavampati went to Indra again and, after foretelling the utopian circumstances of Kyanzittha's reign, bade him call Kṛtakarman and give him his instructions. Then, returning to earth, he went to the rishi Bisnū, related the prophecy to him, and exhorted him to accept his role ; which Bisnū doing, Gavampati left. Finally Indra went to Bisnū and repeated the prophecy.

A similar story of the origin of Śrī Kṣetra is given in the *Glass Palace Chronicle*, according to which the city was founded by Sakra (Indra) in consultation with Gavampati, an unnamed rishi, a nāga, a garuḍa, Caṇḍī, and Parameśvara.[4] It thus seems that one object of the inscriptions was to associate Kyanzittha and his rapidly rising kingdom with an existing tradition as to the foundation of the Pyu capital, by that time in eclipse. With the coming of Buddhism, kings who hitherto had claimed to inherit superhuman authority through their miraculous lineage—as Kyanzittha himself does elsewhere—[5] could equally purport to exercise it as reincarnations of former heroes ; and it is perhaps because the rishi is the only figure whom Kyanzittha could claim to reincarnate that he, and not Indra or Gavampati, is represented as the chief agent at the founding. (Rishis are, indeed, leading actors in similar legends in other places, as at Luang Prabang and Haripuñjaya.)[6] Gavampati's prominence as the immediate attendant, with Ānanda, of the Buddha is in itself unusual. A passage in the inscription already summarised shows that his function is more than that of a mere messenger and assistant at the foundation ceremony ; he on earth upholds the 'unshakable place,' Pagan which Indra watches over from his heaven above and Kṛtakarman from below.[7]

Several variants of a quite distinct tradition, connecting Gavampati with the early history of Thaton, are known from the Mon literature of Lower Burma. The first of these, which dates from the late fifteenth century, has been preserved as a result of its incorporation in the foundation legend of a series of relic pagodas, several of which were restored by Dhammacetī (1472—92). The narrative occurs in substantially the same form in three inscriptions, at the Hpaya-ywa, Hsudaungbye, and Mokhainggyi pagodas near Pegu, the first named bearing the date B. E. 848 (A. D. 1486).[8] The relevant passage is worth reproducing *in extenso.*

> [The Buddha,] in the eighth year after His attainment of Buddhahood, out of His compassion for all creatures...came to Mithilā...with many of the Assembly of Monks, that is to say with twenty thousand arahats. At that time the Mahāthera Gavampati, reflecting on his fellowship with a kinsman in a former existence, perceived that he had been reborn in the neighbouring country of Suvaṇṇabhūmi. [He went there and] taught [the people of]

Sudhammapura, and inasmuch as King Sirimāsoka, the lord of Thaton, had been his kinsman in a former existence, he taught him also in many sermons ; at which the king was glad, and requested the lord Mahāthera that he might take refuge in, behold, and give alms to the Buddha. Then the lord Gavampati undertook King Sirimāsoka's mission, and returning through the air to Mithilā acquainted the Lord Buddha with the matter.

The Lord Buddha then, out of His compassion for King Sirimāsoka and the numerous population of Suvaṇṇabhūmi, came with twenty thousand arahats through the air to Thaton. When King Sirimāsoka heard that the Buddha and the arahats had arrived, he was filled with rejoicing, and going out to welcome them prepared a great pavilion, where [for seven] days he made a great almsgiving. And for seven days the Lord Buddha taught gods and men in sermons, before announcing His departure.

When King Sirimāsoka learnt of the Buddha's intention to depart, he asked for an object of worship, one which would be a surrogate for the Buddha and through which he might worship the Lord Buddha Himself. To this the Lord Buddha replied : 'O king, inasmuch as I gave objects of worship to the six hermits,[9] I shall not give you one at this time. But thirty-seven years hence, when I achieve *parinibbāna* in the grove of sal trees in the park of the Malla princes in Kusināra, through a vow I have vowed one of My forty teeth shall become thirty-three, which the Mahāthera Gavampati shall bring you. Those worship and revere !'

Thus the Buddha gave the king no object of worship ; but after preaching the Doctrine to King Sirimāsoka and the people for seven days, in order to ensure the regeneration of all beings in Suvaṇṇabhūmi in time to come, He entered on the realisation of attainment in thirteen places, and so returned to the Middle Country.

For thirty-seven years from that time, forty-five years from the time He attained Buddhahood, He shed the great rain of His preaching of the Doctrine on all the four islands, extinguishing that kalpa-dissolving fire that is the lust of all who live and have being. And thus having fulfilled all that pertains to a Buddha, on the full moon of Vesākha, in the grove of sal trees in the park of the Malla princes in Kusināra, He attained *parinibbāna*.

Then the Mahathera Gavampati remembered the instructions the Buddha had given him, and while the pyre still burned he took the tooth, which now through the Buddha's vow became thirty-three ; those he bore to King Sirimāsoka. When the king received them he built thirty-three small stone *cetiyas*, and for the term of his life worshipped and revered them, giving alms and observing the Precepts ; and when he died was reborn in heaven.[10]

The essential features of the narrative are thus : eight years after the Enlightenment Gavampati, in Mithilā, becomes aware that his kinsman in a former existence has been reborn in Suvaṇṇabhūmi, as Sirimāsoka (Sirimahāsoka), king of Sudhammapura or Thaton. He goes to Thaton and preaches Buddhism to king and people, whereupon Sirimāsoka asks for the Buddha Himself to visit the city. The Buddha comes and the king asks Him for a relic, and though this request is refused, the Buddha promises that Gavampati shall bring one of His teeth to the king after the *parinibbāna*. Thirty-seven years later His promise is fulfilled, the tooth having miraculously multiplied itself in consequence of a vow made by Him.

The story is found in a more elaborate form in a Thaton chronicle of uncertain date, *Uppanna Sudhammawatī-rājāwaṁsakathā.*[11] Here Gavampati comes to Thaton in search of his mother, who has been reborn in the village of Taungbo Myowa, 'Taungbo citadel of the pagans.' Although the seven-year-old girl is found in accordance with his instructions, the people remain unconvinced of her identity, and to dispel their doubts he works a miracle : milk spouts from the girl's paps into his mouth. King Siridhammāsoka, impressed, then asks him whether his preternatural knowledge extends to the origin of the city, and he proceeds to relate its history down to that time. At the culmination of his recital he reveals that in his own previous existence he was the younger twin brother of the king's father, Suriyakummā (Suriyakumāra), founder of the second dynasty to rule in Thaton. He has been reborn in Mithilā in the family of the rich *seṭṭhī* Govinda, and at the age of 37 became a monk, subsequently attaining arahatship and receiving the name of Gavampati.

From this point the account largely follows that in Dhammacetī's inscriptions, with the additional detail that when Siridhammāsoka is promised the multiplying tooth, Indra is sent for to make an image of the Buddha for him to worship in the meanwhile. Here follows the incident of the hermits. After the king's death the chronicle continues down to the sack of Thaton by Anawrahta. This part of the text is cast in historical form, but a colophon, which comparison with the version next discussed suggests may be retained from an earlier recension, implies that like the recital of the city's past history it is a prophecy delivered by Gavampati.

A third version is contained in the work which has achieved a wide circulation among the Mons under this very name, *Gawampati.*[12] This curious compilation, which apparently dates from about 1710, purports to describe the journey of the Buddha and His train from Achin to Pegu by way of Sukhothai and Tavoy—a theme modelled, though more elaborately, on the first chapter of the Mahāvaṁsa. This framework accommodates a medley of etymological and topographical information concerning sacred sites, and legends and dynastic lists pertaining to various royal cities, together with a strong element of eulogy of the obscure Peguan king, technically a vassal of Ava, in whose reign the work was written ; all in the form of prophecies put into the mouths of the Buddha and His disciples, or commentaries on them.

There is no mention here of Gavampati converting the inhabitants of Thaton. Instead, the arahats arrive there in the normal course of their journey, to be welcomed by Siridhammāsoka, and it is only after the seven days' preaching, the visit of the hermits. and the making of the image that Gavampati introduces the subject of his mother, on whose account, we now learn, he has requested the Buddha to come. (Some corruption of the tradition is apparent ; she is here herself called Govindaseṭṭhī). The Buddha discloses that she has been reborn in the pagan village of Taungbo, identified by the author with Iwè, north of Zingyaik hill. There Gavampati finds her at play with other naked children, who run away, but she out of modesty remains where she is, sitting bent forward with her legs to one side, till he throws her a white bodice with which to cover herself. He then performs the miracle of the paps, this time for the benefit of the pagan hillmen. Afterwards, on the Buddha's instructions, he relates the previous history of Thaton to Siridhammāsoka and prophesies its future course.[13]

The details which are common to all three accounts—though not everywhere in the same order—are few : the gift of relics to the hermits, the king's request for a relic, and the bringing of the tooth by Gavampati at the *parinibbāna*. The inscriptions and the Thaton chronicle agree that the saint visited Thaton first and brought the Buddha there afterwards on the petition of the king ; *Gawampati* only mentions that he had asked the Buddha to visit the city. Where the accounts conflict is on the nature of Gavampati's connection with Thaton, and here the later sources seem to represent a conflation of two traditions : one, the first attested, in which monk and king had been kinsmen in a previous existence, and another in which it was the saint's mother who had been reborn in the Mon land. Both are associated with the vicinity of Zingyaik hill, for it was on the northern slope of that peak that the rishi Siha found the eggs from which were hatched Suriyakummā, the founder of the dynasty, and Candakummā, later to be Gavampati.

We need not necessarily assume that details peculiar to the two more recent accounts are late accretions, for the purpose of the inscriptions is to authenticate tooth relics, and it is to be expected that details irrelevant to that theme should be omitted. Even if we only consider that part of the surviving tradition as original which sees Gavampati primarily as a guarantor of the sanctity of one pagoda or another, his function in this aspect is effectively that of a protector of the kingdom. The number of 33 teeth by implication, and a passage in *Gawampati* more explicitly, show that the relic pagodas were the centres of a state cult, located one in the capital and one in each of the 32 townships into which the Mon kingdoms were divided. 'When My tooth which is to be in 33 places is brought here,' says the

Buddha in the passage in question, 'all those localities to which the relics are translated shall afterwards constitute the domains and possessions of the Mon country.' Far more than any hair relic which could be immediately bestowed, the tooth will ensure freedom from famine and the flourishing of Buddhism throughout the land. Its miraculous duplication is attributed to the desire of each of Siridhammāsoka's 33 queens to enshrine it herself. This connects the cult with the kingdoms' origin in a coalescence of chiefdoms transmitted in the female line ; just as Anawrahta and his successors legitimised their claim to Thaton by marriage into its royal house, so Siridhammāsoka, it is implied, is married into the lineage of each of his townships.[14]

The prominence given to the visit to Thaton in *Gawampati* is hardly sufficient to account for the work's bearing that name. The episode, which occupies about one-fifth of the book, is only one of many elements incorporated in it, and in no sense central ; on the contrary, its subordinate character is implicit in the abridgement to which the lack of any reference to the saint's earlier visit bears witness. The real reason seems to lie in Gavampati's status as patron of the Mons ; he is being invoked as the protector of the later Pegu kingdom, as formerly of Kyanzittha's Pagan and the almost legendary Thaton. His association with the southern race is implied when the Buddha calls him forward as the party reach the borders of Rāmañña at Tavoy.[15] Thus it is Ānanda and Gavampati who, near Martaban and again in the city itself, inquire as to the future kings of Pegu ;[16] and Gavampati and Indra are given nine hairs by the Buddha to instal on the site of the Shwemawdaw pagoda there.[17] It may be mentioned in passing that the brahmins Adicca and Ābhoja are said to cite a *History of Gavampati* to the king of Vidyānagara who seeks to annex the domain in the fourth century A. D.[18]

The persistence of the tradition connecting Gavampati with Hanthawaddy or Pegu is illustrated by the conventional preamble to the Land Roll of 1802, which recites in summary form the legendary events from which all rights in the territory are supposed to descend. Here again the saint is named as witnessing, with Ānanda and Sakra (Indra), the Buddha's prophecy concerning the city.[19]

The connection of Thaton with Gavampati may seem less certainly attested, in spite of the elaboration of the legend, than that of Pegu or Pagan, since the accounts of the city in the chronicles contain little of a rigidly historical character, and by the early fourteenth century it no longer ranked even as a township, being included in the jurisdiction of Yinnyein. Its very identity has been disputed by some authors. It is therefore of interest to note that several sources mention a cult centre of the saint there. The list of *sīmās* or ordination places in the Kalyani inscription of c. 1479 includes '*sim gawampati sadhuim,*' suggesting a local exemplar of the saint, 'Gavampati of Thaton,' and evidently at the most frequented shrine in the city, since no other *sīmā* there is listed.[20] The place is doubtless that called in the Thaton chronicle Gavampati's Image Hall, said to mark the point where the saint entered the city,[21] and in *Gawampati*, *kyāk gawampati* (surely 'the Gavampati image' rather than 'the Gavampati pagoda' ?), which supposedly marks the place where he brought his mother to hear the Buddha's teaching.[22]

Dare we suppose that 'Gavampati's image' was the statue which Indra made for Siridhammāsoka ? Logically it could not be, for—as we shall see—Anawrahta carried off all the cult statues which he found in Thaton. But it is quite possible that a tradition ascribing a venerated effigy of the saint to Indra, the universal artificer, was transmuted in popular imagination into the story concerning Siridhammāsoka's statue, which appears in the legend only after the fifteenth century.

Whether or not it was also a cult centre, Iwè, the supposed Taungbo and birthplace of Gavampati's mother, seems to have had some continuing significance for the maintenance of Mon royal authority. The title of Shin Sawbu (1453—72) is recorded in the *History of Syriam* as *Razadirit Thamein Htaw Hkin Htaungbo Byinnya Taw*, 'Duchess Thau, Queen of Queens, Queen of the Law, Lady of Taungbo.'[23] Again, the first of the rulers who established themselves in Pegu after the Burmese capital was removed to Ava in 1661 claimed to be the son of the god of Taungbo.[24] It appears from the Martaban Land Roll of 1766 that Iwè had the formal status of one of the 32 townships, although its area and population were never such as to justify this, and it was in practice an appanage of Yin-on.[25]

Our survey of the legends concerning Gavampati is now complete, and we can turn to the evidence for the cult in the literature of Pagan. The first text to be cited, the Letthéshe pagoda inscription of Anawrahta, is extant in no fewer than four versions, L. 5, 20, 23, and 27.[26] The first two of these are eighteenth-century copies made for Bodawpaya ; and the others, though earlier, are neither of them regarded as original by Luce and Pe Maung Tin (who omit them from *Inscriptions of Burma* on that account), so that the text as we have it is at second hand.

The epigraph relates how the king 'took a log a fathom long, of the height of a man, and carved the Lord Gawaṁ [*or* Kawaṁ]. Then setting the Lord Gawaṁ before him he made offerings[27] of an elephant, a horse, and a coat' (*tuyaṅ*). He then ceremonially installed the image in a 'monastery' or shrine which he had built on a chosen site above Piraṅ (?), endowing it with lands which amounted in all to 2, 055 *pay*, or 144 acres. Unfortunately the versions give different dates, none of which it has been possible to confirm by calculation. We may reject that of B. E. 380 given in L. 5, which falls outside the years of Anawrahta's reign (406—39) ; L. 23 and 20 give B. E. 420, i. e. (the month being Tabaung) A.D. 1059, while L. 27 gives B. E. 430, or A. D. 1069.

The next reference is in the undated Mon inscription, No. IX in *Epigraphia Birmanica*, which gives details of the ritual observed at the building of a palace for

Kyanzittha (1084—1112). The ceremonies included a great *paritta* recitation by the Mahāthera Arahan and 108 monks within the palace site, and another 4,000 outside, which according to Blagden's arrangement of the faces of the inscription opened the proceedings ; but if an alternative sequence (N, R, S, O—Q, B—D, A, E—M) proposed by Professor Luce is correct, it must have begun the dedicatory ceremony immediately before the raising of the pillars. Among the preparations for this recitation we read of the construction of a shrine east of the porch of the great hall, in which were installed on thrones an image of the Buddha in gold, an image of Gavampati, and volumes of the three Baskets of Scripture. Then 'at three *prahara* they sounded the... drums and blew the *kakā* before the golden Buddha and the Lord Gavampati and all 4, 108 lords of the Saṅgha, of whom the Lord Mahāthera Arahan was the chief.'[28] Here Gavampati seemingly represents the whole monastic Order in a symbolic enshrining of the Three Gems : Buddha, Dhamma, Saṅgha.

Two further epigraphs, at long intervals of time, show that a concern with the saint which is hardly explained by his role in canonical literature persisted well towards the end of the Pagan period. An inscription dated *myay tā* 541 (A.D. 1179) from the Tainggyut pagoda, near the place where Kyanzittha's palace inscription was found, commemorates the refurbishing of the shrine by a group of elders and their dedication to it of nine slaves, including four members of their own families. They erected a gold *hti* or ceremonial umbrella and a gold throne, and painted the images of 'the Lord Sāriputtrā, and the Lord Mokkalān, and the two images of the Lord Gawaṁpati' with gold paint. Among other gifts they presented three sets of robes (*saṅ kan suṁ chū*).[29]

From the context the *tuiṅ khet purhā skhiṅ* of the inscription may well refer not to the present Tainggyut pagoda but to the Buddha image for which the throne was presumably intended, and the status of Sāriputta and Moggallāna is that of attendants on the Master, as elsewhere. But the duplication of Gavampati suggests that he had some other function. He is excluded from the provision of robes for the images, customary at this season ; these garments are not for the clergy of whom, we are told, an indecipherable number were fed, for monks are presented with robes at the end of lent and not at its beginning.

Finally from Talokmyo, 7 miles NNW of Myingyan, comes the Thonbanhla pagoda inscription of Tawthalin 601 (A.D. 1239). This is the record of a series of donations to pagodas and monasteries by one Phummakraṁ and his relatives, and it includes one to a 'Gavampati temple' (*gawaṁ ku*)[30] and another on the occasion of the presenting of a Gavampati image (*gawaṁ*) to the *ku ni* or Red Temple pagoda.[31]

There is evidence, then, that Anawrahta erected a Gavampati temple at Pagan, probably in A.D. 1059 or 1069. Nothing in the text shows that this edifice was specifically Buddhist, and the usual aspirations as to future births are absent.[32] Under Kyanzittha, who as we have seen regarded him as the tutelary saint of the kingdom, Gavampati was the representative of the monastic Order *par excellence.* It is doubtful whether this was the case in other reigns ; Kyanzittha's practice was perhaps an aberrant one, inspired by his Mon entourage, perhaps an attempt to divert an objectionable, but tenacious, devotion into orthodox channels. Towards the end of the twelfth century Gavampati's status in a Buddhist sanctuary may have been that of a guardian, as *nats* are sometimes associated with pagodas today. Images of the saint continued to be made as late as 1239.

Anawrahta's offerings of an elephant, a horse, and a coat were ritual ones ; it was not these but the liberality of the endowment and, no doubt, the fabric of the building itself which were calculated to impress the royal donor's magnificence on all beholders. The *tuyaṅ*—Pe Maung Tin, translating it in *JBRS*, XXVI, p. 53 as a 'robe,' begs the question—was a knee-length coat of the kind worn by ministers at court, the *duyin* of later times. Elephant and horse are among the conventional possessions of a universal monarch, but that can hardly have been their function here, where *cakra,* jewel, and the rest were lacking. They recall the painted wooden figures which at pagodas in the Shan State flank the railing before the principal image on which candles and offerings of flowers are placed. They also bring to mind the animals which guard the eastern and southern stairways of certain Burmese pagodas. In the iconography of Ceylon, where again they occur as dagoba guardians,[33] they are associated with the *lokapālas* who watch over those quarters ; while in the *aṭṭhakathā* commentaries on the *Suttanipāta* and *Udāna* they are said to abound on the banks of the rivers which flow out of Lake Anotatta in the corresponding directions, the Hatthimukha and Assamukha.[34]

Are we to infer that the quarter in which Gavampati resides is the south-east ? It is not clear from the surviving portions of the palace inscription which way the 'great hall' faced, but it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the shrine of the Three Gems 'east of the porch' was at its south-east corner. It is this corner post which, in Mon houses, the *kalok* or clan spirit inhabits.

Although no ritual practices have survived into modern times (I except conjuration with *gawuns,* to which I advert below), the dimensions which Gavampati assumes in Mon popular imagination argue a cult not far submerged, in Pegu as elsewhere. As for the stages by which it was propagated, we have already noted a link between the Pagan tradition and Śrī Kṣetra, the old Pyu capital. (This link is reinforced if we accept the southern orientation of Kyanzittha's palace.) A direct transmission is unlikely. There is reason to suppose that the political hegemony once exercised by the Pyu had passed to Thaton before Anawrahta conquered it ; and, as it happens, there are specific indications that the Gavampati cult followed the same route, Śrī Kṣetra—Thaton—Pagan.

The Letthèshe inscription, dated two years after the conquest of Thaton, betrays the effects of culture contact in a Mon phrase: kyak sare *hi so mre kui mraṅ to mū ī* 'he saw a *numinous* spot of ground [on which to build the temple].[35] The word *gawaṁ* itself is probably a Mon loan.[36] The suggestion that Anawrahta borrowed the invocation of Gavampati from the race he conquered gains support from a sixteenth-century Mon chronicle which describes him as carrying off from Thaton, not only monks and scriptures, but 'all the potent images of Mahāvināyaka, Mahāviṣṇu, Parameśvara and Parameśvarī, and all the wonder-working images of *devatas*', with their attendant brahmins, as well.[37] Although the standard histories follow the *Glass Palace Chronicle* in representing him simply as the bringer of Pali Buddhism from that city, the Mon account inspires conviction ; for if he wished to appropriate the mana of the southern capital, what more likely than that he should carry off every cult object in which it might reside ?

In all the literature there is no indication what icon was used to portray the saint, though the log-wrought image, *truncus dolamine effigatus*, of the Letthéshe inscription implies a standing figure. (Such occasional modern images as I have seen, belonging to groups of the principal disciples, show no particular iconographic conventions, the artist having contented himself with arbitrary distortions of the features to differentiate the various personalities.) Przyluski, however, owing to a misreading, erected an iconographic theory on a figurine discovered in 1913 in a collapsed pagoda at Kyauksauk, near Pagan, and since he used this theory as a basis for equating the Burmese Gavampati with Nandī and the minotaur of the *Fên-pieh kung-tê lun*, it is necessary to deal with it.

The Kyauksauk figurine was in fact an amulet of the type called *gawun kyaw chingat*, 1·7 inches high, showing Mahāvināyaka or Ganesha back to back with an anthropomorph ; both figures having their eyes covered with their hands. No date has been assigned to it, nor did Duroiselle, who published it, claim that it was of the Pagan period.[38] Przyluski assumed that the anthropomorph was Gavampati and equated him with Nandī on the grounds of his association with Ganesha.

Gawun is the name given in Burma to a class of amulets, of an anthropomorphic kind, which are used by practitioners of a not very reputable form of magic. Their range is similar to that of the Siamese examples illustrated by Lefèvre-Pontalis.[39] There is no reason to dispute the derivation of the word from Old Burmese *gawaṁ* 'Gavampati,' and indeed a 'hermit Gavampati' is sometimes named in the invocations of occultist sects. But to assume that *gawun* magic has any but the most tenuous connection with the subject of our inquiry seems to me quite unjustified. The term is a generic one, and echoes of various legends are found in the lore attaching to these objects. Above all, the cult of Gavampati was a state cult, and *gawun* magic is at the opposite extreme : private, furtive, and rarely to be acknowledged. There is no need to suppose that it is other than a late and petty practice, which has annexed a name of power. Przyluski's excursus must therefore be considered irrelevant.

What were the sources in Indian tradition from which the Burmese Gavampati legends sprang? They are hardly to be sought in the Pali Canon, in which he figures chiefly as one of the four companions of Yasa who were among the first recruits to the Order. The Burmese 'Life of Gotama' translated by Bigandet—the text of which corresponds minutely with that of the epigraphs from Dhammacetī's 'Holy Lands' at Pegu, and so is coeval with the versions we have been quoting—does not mention him by name in its account of the episode.

Some may point to the conicidence between Gavampati's localization at Thaton, which is simply the vernacular rendering of Sudhamma-pura or Sudhammavatī, and the statement in the *Fên-pieh kung-tê lun* that he dwelt in the 'hall of the preaching of the Good Law,' the Sudharmā, which was the moothal of the gods.[40] Indeed, one of the names of Śrī Kṣetra may have been Sudharma-nagara; this is the most plausible etymon for the title of Thado Dhammaraza borne by the later kings of Prome, and when the *Glass Palace Chronicle* compares Śrī Kṣetra to Sudassana (Sudarśana),[41] one reflects that Sudharmā and Sudarśana are almost interchangeable. Yet it would be difficult to relate the beliefs and practices set out in these pages to the story of the cloven-hoofed saint who declined to attend the first Council and whose wider affinities Przyluski has explored in such detail; almost impossible, for the Buddha's executor, hastening from the scene of the *parinibbāna* to remind Indra of his responsibilities or to carry the teeth to Thaton, is clearly incompatible with the Lohan who immolated himself as soon as the grievous tidings reached him. Nevertheless, I believe that the ultimate source of our legend is to be found in Northern Buddhist tradition.

My colleague Mr. A. H. Christie has pointed out the affinity which *Gawampati*, and the story of the Thaton visit in its different versions, bear to the *Avadāna* literature. The *Avadānas* served the dual purpose of incorporating areas newly won to Buddhism into the canonical geography, and of justifying local hagiolatries. Whether they provided the model for the Gavampati stories or not, they may well belong to the intellectual climate in which these grew up. But the germ of the Burmese tradition is probably in a reference in the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga*, curt as it is: *yathā āryagavampatinā Suvarṇabhūmyāṁ yojanaśataṁ janapado' bhiprasāditaḥ*; 'as also the venerable Gavampati, in Suvarṇabhūmi, converted the land for a hundred *yojanas*.'[42]

The idea that the whole Gavampati story might have been elaborated from this one premise is less preposterous if we consider the similar elaboration of the references to Soṇa and Uttara's mission to Suvaṇṇabhūmi in a remarkably parallel passage of the Mahāvaṁsa. If these enabled the native chroniclers to give the coming of Buddhism to their country an early date, the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* set it back still further. It is noticeable that the identification of Suvaṇṇabhūmi with Rāmañña is usually tacit; by not making it explicitly the chroniclers gave their work a greater air of resting on the accredited tradition. And to the parallelism of the sources for the two evangelizations there corresponds a parallelism of the developed versions which suggests that the compilers of one drew on an existing account of the other.[43] Thus both are incorporated in the history of the relics, in which Soṇa and Uttara instigated or led the search for the abandoned site of the original pagodas, and supervised the distribution and reenshrinement of the teeth which were found in them. The kings who figure in the two stories are both called Sirimāsoka or Siridhammāsoka—a reminiscence of Aśoka Maurya, for the episode of the rediscovery is plainly modelled on that of Aśoka's discovery of the relics buried by King Ajātasattu, when he learned of their existence from Moggaliputta Tissa, and his enshrinement of them in 84,000 pagodas distributed throughout his dominions.[44]

Some aura of abnormality may well have accompanied Gavampati to Burma, even if his taurine associations were unknown there. Beside the undeniably Buddhist, if uncanonical, elements in the legend there are others of a more questionable kind, such as the miracle of the paps and the connection with 'Taungbo of the Pagans'; and these when taken in conjunction with the doubts about the nature of some of the cult practices point to a grafting of the orthodox strain which predominates in the medieval accounts on to an older autochthonous tradition. The invocation of Gavampati, as has been said, was a state cult; and I am inclined to look for the saint's darker half among the subjects of another state cult, the 37 godlings who did duty in the microcosm for the *Lokapālas* and the heavenly Thirty-three.[45]

Unlike the 37 *nats* of the Burmese, which have been copiously discussed by scholars from Temple to Htin Aung, the corresponding Mon deities are little known. Many of them were spirits inhabiting trees at Buddhist sites.[46] It is likely, however, that the Burmans got the principle of the cult from the Mons, for there were correlations in Rāmañña between the 37 gods, the 32 townships, and the 33 pagodas. The point, which has not been sufficiently recognized, is that it was a national and a state cult: national, in that the composition of the Mon and the Burmese pantheons was entirely different; state, in that while individual gods or *nats* might have popular cults, and many more than 37 were worshipped altogether, the election of a specific pantheon was a public act. Anawrahta—again!—installed images of his 37 at the pagoda which he founded at Pagan, the Shwezigon (and is said, as a good Buddhist, to have apologized for doing so).[47]

As the national gods were a lesser analogue of the company of heaven, so too was the court, where the king sat like Indra surrounded by his 32 vassal princes and his four dukes, or the four captains of his guard. In this ceremonial, orientation played an essential part. It is strangely echoed in the passage in *Gawampati* in which the Buddha sits down on the site of the Shwemawdaw pagoda —significantly, it is called Sudassana Mraṅ Sita hill—to foretell the history of Pegu.[48]

He sits facing the east surrounded by seven disciples, the eighth place being taken by the summit of the hill which is at His back. The text is not fully explicit and at one point probably corrupt, but it appears to contain a blending of orthodox and other traditions. Sāriputta is on His right to the south, Moggallāna 'to the south' (surely we must read 'to the north,' as the canon requires?) Mahākassapa and Kaccāyana are further away to the south-west and north-west respectively, and Ānanda, Gavampati, and Anuruddha 'before His face to the east.'

The tenor of the passage suggests that these three between them should occupy places to the east, north-east, and south-east, balancing the disposition of the other disciples. If we allot the more honoured eastern station to the 'beloved disciple' Ānanda, there is at least an even probability that Gavampati's place was the south-east one. This is interesting in view of earlier conjectures.

It must be remembered that within Rāmañña Gavampati has been presented as the leading disciple. Canonical authority requires that Sāriputta should be given the place of honour on the Buddha's right ; is there an alternative station which is the place of honour in terms of another system ? We have seen that the south-east, Gavampati's quarter, is also that of the *kalok*. The usual name (*dayuiṅ khara°ṅ*) of the south-east house post where this spirit resides might be translated as 'summit' or 'supreme post' ; and an older name is 'king post.' Honour is satisfied, if on Sudassana Mraṅ Sita hill it is an autochthonous deity who is wearing the robes of the saint.

Pursuing this line of inquiry further, we gain a hint as to which deity it might be. Four of the 37 had their shrines to the south-east both of Pegu and Thaton : the spirit who gave his name to the Thawdaban quarter and gate of Martaban, and the spirit of the point on which the Myatheindan stands ; the spirit of the bo tree by the Shindawè at Maungmeshaung near Tavoy ; and the spirit of the fig tree in the Hair Relic *sīmā* at Zingyaik. The connection between Gavampati, Iwè, and Zingyaik hill has already been noted. There is little doubt that if the Mon patron saint took some of his characteristics from a god of the country, it was the last of the four ; for Suriyakumāra, founder of the Thaton dynasty, and the mother of Samala, first king of Pegu, both claimed to be sprung from the union of a wizard and a *nāgini* who laid her egg on Zingyaik hill, under the god's protection.[49]

Those Indian elements which passed into the local traditions of South-East Asia sometimes made the crossing almost unchanged ; but sometimes they were like the grain of mustard seed which throws out great branches. It is the second kind which shed most light on a process which cannot be understood without taking the forms of the borrowing culture into account : the apparently capricious selection of items to be adopted or rejected, with little regard to their function in the structure of the parent culture. And so I hope that, paradoxical as it may be, this case-study of a particularly tenuous connection will be thought appropriate as an offering to Dr. Majumdar, who has done so much to set the relations between the areas in their overall perspective.

NOTES

(1) *Buddhism : a 'Mystery Religion' ?*, 1957, 82 ff

(2) Przyluski, *Le concile de Rājagṛha*, Paris, 1926, 6 ff.; 115.

(3) Ib., 241.

(4) Tr. Pe Maung Tin and Luce, 1923, 14.

(5) *Epigraphia Birmanica*, **I**, 2, No. **VI**, 23—5, No. **VIII**, B 16.

(6) Cf. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Notes sur des amulettes siamoises*, Paris, 1926, 43.

(7) H 5—13.

(8) Duroiselle, *A list of inscriptions found in Burma*, Rangoon, 1921, Appendix A, Nos. 22, 32, 35. Duroiselle's reading of the date of No. 22 as **B.E.** 865 is incompatible with the clear attribution to Dhammacetī.

(9) The story of the giving of hair relics to six hermits is told in full in a second series of inscriptions, of which the best preserved is that at the Kyaikkelatha pagoda, Taungzun (Duroiselle, op. cit., Appendix A, No. 31). It is incorporated in later versions of the legend.

(10) Based on MS readings of the Hpaya-ywa and Hsudaungbyè inscriptions by the late Dr. C. O. Blagden.

(11) Published at pp. 9—25 of *Sudhammavatirājāvaṁsa—Sīharājādhirājāvaṁsa*, ed. Phra Candakanta, Pak Lat, 1910.

(12) Ib., 26—99. This text, though apparently printed from a single MS, is in many respects to be preferred to the one edited by Halliday (Rangoon, 1929),

(13) Ib., 47—64.

(14) Ib., 51—2.

(15) Ib., 29.

(16) Ib., 41, 79.

(17) Ib., 78.

(18) Ib., 82.

(19) *JBRS*, **VI**, 1916, 213.

(20) *Epigraphia Birmanica*, **III**, 2, No. **XII**, L 15, as restored with the help of *Waṅ sim*. The absence of *sīmās* does not necessarily imply the depopulation of Thaton ; it may have been inhabited, but largely by pagan Taungthus and Karens.

(21) p. 20.

(22) p. 54.

(23) *JBRS*, V, 1915, 52.

(24) *Gawampati*, 96.

(25) MS. It is curious that Iwè should be in the Yin-oṅ district headman's charge when there were two other townships, Gaw and Donwun, intervening.

(26) References in this form are to Duroiselle, op. cit. Partly modernized texts are printed in *Inscriptions copied from the stones...near the Arakan Pagoda...*, Rangoon, 1897, II, 830 (L.5), 838 (L.20), and *Original inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya...*, Rangoon, 1913, 1 (L.23), 9 (L.27). I am grateful to my colleague, Dr. Hla Pe, for assistance in reading and interpreting these and other Burmese records ; but for any errors in translation I myself bear the responsibility.

(27) Reading *lhū* for *lhwaṁ*, which could refer only to the third offering mentioned.

(28) A 27—35.

(29) *Inscriptions of Burma*, Pl. VI , L.105.

(30) The length of *i* and *u* is rarely marked in this inscription.

(31) *Inscriptions of Burma*, Pl. CXXXIIb ; L.249.

(32) The word translated 'monastery,' *kyoṅ*, can refer to other religious buildings, as in the popular designation of the Vishnu temple at Pagan as 'Nathlaunggyaung.'

(33) E. g. at the Kantaka Cetiya at Mihintale.

(34) *SnA*, II, 438 ; *UA*, 301. The bull and the lion or chinthe are similarly associated with the west and north.

(35) Cf. Old Mon *kyāk śrī* 'glory, splendour.' Even if the later date for the inscription be preferred, we may note that some Mon sources displace the conquest to 1067.

(36) Though the name invariably appears in Old Mon inscriptions as *gawaṁpati*, it will have been pronounced as if spelt *gawaṁ*. Such full and shortened spellings of Indo-Aryan words frequently alternate in parallel texts, and sometimes within one sentence : *'ānan* III B 27=*'ānanda* V ; *swar* III C 18=*swarga* III C 20.

(37) *Nidāna Ārambhakathā*, in *Nidāna Rāmādhipatikathā*, ed. Phra Candakanta, Pak Lat, 1912, 12.

(38) *ARASB*, 1913 § 52. Przyluski read '1″.7' (sic) as 'one foot seven inches.' Similar amulets are illustrated in Lefèvre-Pontalis, op., cit. : the addorsed dyad in Nos. 9 and 10, the gesture of covering the eyes in Nos. 1. 2, 4—8.

(39) Op. cit. I am indebted for information on this subject to my colleague Dr. E. M. Mendelson,

(40) Cf. Przyluski, op. cit., 115.

(41) p. 14.

(42) Ed. Sylvain Lévi, Paris, 1932, 62.

(43) References to the mission of Soṇa and Uttara occur in the works quoted as sources for the Mon Gavampati story, and in the Kalyani inscription of Dhammacetī.

(44) The Tangyi pagoda at Pagan and another at Hpyathi in Pakokku district were supposed locally to be among the 84,000. Cf. L. 142, 143.

(45) For this interpretation cf. Heine-Geldern in *Wiener Beitrage zur Kunst-u. Kulturgesch. Asiens*, IV, 1930, 48.

(46) 36 of them are enumerated at *Nidāna Ārambhakathā*, 47—8 ; the 37th was Indra.

(47) Harvey, *History of Burma*, 1925, 33.

(48) pp, 76—7.

(49) Kyanzittha claimed that his father was of solar descent and his mother of the lineage of an egg (*tuṁ'āy*) deposited in a joint (*taṅ*) of bamboo, *veḷu-pabb'-aṇḍa-jā*. Cf, *Epigraphia Birmanica*, I, 2, No. VI, 24—5, No. VIII, B 16.

S. Paranavitana C. B. E., Ph. D.

PLOUGHING AS A RITUAL OF ROYAL CONSECRATION IN ANCIENT CEYLON

In the traditional accounts of the establishment of Buddhism in Ceylon,[1] the demarcation of the boundaries of the Mahāvihāra of Anurādhāpura by Devānaṁpiya Tissa, the contemporary of Aśoka, is considered an event of great significance, and has been described with interesting details. Mahinda-thera and his four companions, according to the traditional account, first arrived in Ceylon on the full-moon day of Jyeṣṭha and met the king on the summit of Cetiya-giri (Mihintalē), where they spent their first night in this Island. On the second day, the missionaries arrived in the city, and after the day's activities spent the night in the royal pavilion of the Mahāmegha Park. The following morning, the king visited the thera and donated the Mahāmegha Park for the use of the Order. The forenoon of the day was spent by the Saint in pointing out to the king various spots in the Park where important monastic buildings would arise in the future, and by narrating the accounts of the visits to this Island of the previous Buddhas. After offering the meal of the day to the Saint and his companions, the king asked whether the Religion of the Buddha had been established in the Island. The reply of Mahinda-thera was that it would not be established until there was a boundary within which the Saṅgha could carry out the acts of the Order such as Uposatha, as laid down by the Buddha.

The king decided to fix the boundaries of the Saṅgha in such a manner that they would include the whole of the city, so that he would 'abide under the Buddha's command', and made preparations for demarcating them on the following day. The ceremony of fixing the boundaries, which took place on that day, the fourth day of Mahinda's arrival in Ceylon, is described in the *Dipavaṁsa* in the following words :[2] 'Mahāpaduma and Kuñjara, the two state-elephants, were first harnessed to a golden plough in Koṭṭhamāḷaka. The great army, consisting of four hosts (proceeded), and together with the Theras the king, the destroyer of his enemies, made a furrow with the golden plough. (During this progress there were seen) adorned full vases, beautiful flags of different colours, triumphal arches decorated with various flowers and flags, garlands (?) and many burning lights (?). Then the king ploughed with the golden plough. For the sake of the conversion of many people, the prince, together with the theras, turning his right hand towards the city, walked around it and came to the bank of the river. Drawing the furrow which indicated the line of the great boundary, on the ground with the golden plough, he then arrived (again) at Koṭṭhamāḷaka. The two ends of the furrow having been united in the presence of the great crowd, the earth quaked ; this was the first earthquake. Witnessing that miracle, the whole royal retinue together with the people of the kingdom joyfully said to each other : "There will be a monastery within the boundary." The ruler Devānampiya indicated to the Theras how far they had fixed the marks of the boundary line of the enclosure (and spoke thus) : "As the preparatory ceremonies for fixing the boundary and the enclosure have been performed, may the Theras now out of compassion for me settle the limits, in order to establish firmly the Vihāra which will be suitable for the fraternity of the Bhikkhus." Having heard what the king said, Mahinda, the enlightener of the Island, thus addressed the fraternity of the Bhikkhus : "O Bhikkhus, let us fix the boundary." Uuder the constellation of Uttarāsāḷha the whole fraternity assembled. Having determined the extent of the sacred enclosure, Mahinda, who was gifted with supernatural vision, fixed the boundary within which the Bhikkhus were to be considered as one section. Having firmly established the most excellent Tissārāma monastery, he resided (during the next night) in the Tissārāma.

The account of this ceremony given in the *Mahāvaṁsa*[1] is more concise than that in the earlier chronicle, and does not mention that the king used a golden plough for ploughing the furrow. But it agrees in essentials with the *Dīpavaṁsa*, and moreover states that the king 'came upon his car to his *ārāma*, adorned with all the ornaments, together with his ministers and the women of the harem, with chariots, troops and beasts for riders in a mighty train.' Furthermore, it adds that the king assigned boundary marks on the furrow for thirty-two *māḷakas* (literary 'high places') and for the Thūpārāma. The *Mahābodhivaṁsa* gives in detail the course taken by the king in ploughing the furrow, referring to localities through which it passed and, in describing how the king circumambulated the city as a preliminary to the ceremony, says that he was adorned with royal ornaments, was attended by the women of the household, dressed and adorned in all their finery, and accompanied by a great host was mounted on his chariot with the splendour of the King of gods (Indra)[4].

Referring to later times, there are two other recorded instances of kings of Ceylon ploughing a furrow for the purpose of establishing a monastery. Fa-Hsien, who came to Ceylon in 411 and stayed two years in the Island, gives an account of the funeral obsequies of a saintly *thera*, and describes how the king founded a monastery attached to the monument in which the Saint's bodily relices were enshrined. "First of all, he provided them with a great feast, after which he selected a pair of strong working-oxen and ornamented their horns with gold, silver and precious things. Then, providing himself with a beautiful gilded plough, the king himself ploughed round the four sides of the alloted space, after which, ceding all personal right over the land, houses or people within the area thus enclosed, he presented (the whole to the priests). Then he caused to be engraved on a metal plate (the following inscription) : "From this time and for all generations hereafter, let this property be handed down from one (body of priests) to the other, and let no one dare to alienate it or change (the character of) the grant".[5]

The *Cūḷavaṁsa* has the following account of the establishment of the boundaries by Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186) of the Uposatha-house in the monastery named Āḷāhana-parivena founded by him at the capital city of Polonnaruva. 'At the invitation of the great community of whom Mahākassapa was the oldest, the monarch—with the tune of songs of praise, with the sound of musical instruments and the noise of the shouts of greeting filling the four regions of the heavens, surrounded by many people bearing golden and other jars and baskets and many banners and umbrellas—took with great solemnity the golden plough before which was harnessed the elephant of state and went forth ploughing the furrow.'[6]

The *Dīpavaṁsa* definitely says that the boundary which Mahinda-thera requested Devānaṁpiya Tissa to fix was what is called in the Vinaya a *samāna-saṁvāsaka-sīmā*, i. e. a boundary within which the monks should all go to one place for the recital of the Pātimekkha on *uposatha* days. The rules with regard to such a boundary (*sīmā*) are given in the *Mahāvagga*, II (6 et. seq). At a formal meeting of the Order, the boundary-marks, which may be a hill-side, a rock, a grove, a tree, a road, an anthill, a river or a piece of water, should be announced by a competent monk, and a motion brought forward that 'the Order may agree upon a boundary in accordance with these marks, for the same communion, for one observance'. The motion, when it is duly assented to, establishes the boundary. It would be seen that the boundary marks are natural features that are already existing, and it was not necessary to demarcate it by any artificial construction or a line drawn on the ground. The fixing of such a boundary was purely an ecclessiastical matter in which the lay devotees were not concerned, and it was not necessary to request the intervention of the temporal power to constitute it. There is no reference whatever in the Vinayapiṭaka to the demarcation of such a boundary on the ground by means of ploughing a furrow, as was done by king Devānaṁpiya Tissa, on the advice of Mahinda-thera, in establishing the boundaries of the Mahāvihāra of Anurādhāpura.

On the other hand, the chronicles represent the king as engaged in a solemn state ceremony. He was adorned with all royal ornaments, imitating Indra, and was attended by the ladies of the court and the dignitaries of state. As a preliminary to the ceremony, the king circumambulated his capital. The plough was drawn by the state elephants. The ceremony is said to have been performed on a day when the constellation Āsaḷha (Skt. Āṣāḍha) was in the ascendant. In the Vinaya, of course, there is no reference whatever to any formal act of the Order being carried out under a particular Nakṣatra. Such a belief in the efficacy of auspicious Nakṣatras would be altogether against the spirit of early Buddhism. It is also significant that it was under this very Nakṣatra of Āṣāḍha that the first inauguration of Devānaṁpiya Tissa's rule took place. If, as the chronicles state, the plough used on this occasion was made of gold, or at least gilt, preparations must have been made for the ceremony for some days, and not undertaken on the day after that on which the Thera brought the necessity for it to the notice of the king. The consideration of these facts leads one to the surmise that Devānaṁpiya Tissa, in Ploughing a furrow as described in the chronicles, was carrying out some kind of royal ritual or state ceremony, in addition to the demarcating of the boundaries of the monastery that he wished to be established. This surmise gains support from the fact that a very similar ceremony, the purpose of which was to give religious sanction to the sovereignty of a ruler, is referred to in the *Mahābhārata* as having been solemnised in ancient India.

The epic tells us that some time after the five Pāṇḍava brothers lost their kingdom and all they possessed to the Kauravas, and went to the forest in pursuance of the pledge they had given, Duryodhana, the leader of the Kauravas, gained the allegiance of the other princes in India and wished to perform the Rājasūya sacrifice, to mark the establishment of his power. The *purohita*, however, pointed out to Duryodhana that it was not permissible for him to perform the Rājasūya, so long as Yudhiṣṭhira, who had already performed that sacrifice, and his father Dhṛtarāṣṭra were still alive. But the priest assured Duryodhana that there was another sacrifce which was as efficacious as, if not more than, the Rājasūya for the purpose of establishing his imperial status.[9] We quote the very words of the epic with regard to the nature of this Vaiṣṇava sacrifice for the consecration of a Supreme Ruler :

"These protectors of the Earth who are tributary to thee, let them, O Lord of the Earth, present you their tribute comprising gold, made and not made (into ornaments etc.,). With that gold, O best of kings, let a plough be made today. And with that plough, O Bhārata, let the ground of your sacrificial enclosure be ploughed. And in that place, O excellent king, let the Sacrifice, in which there is abundant food and which is well prepared, be solemnised in accordance with the rules, unobstructed in any manner. This is the sacrifice for thee, named Vaiṣṇava, appropriate to virtuous men ; by this none has sacrificed but Viṣṇu, the Ancient One. This great sacrifice rivals the preeminent Rājasūya sacrifice. It commends itself indeed to us and (by it) there will ensue prosperity to thee. This will be effected without hindrance, and your desire will thus be fulfilled". Told thus by these Brāhmaṇas, the Lord of the Earth, the son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, spoke these words to Karṇa, to Saubala and to his brothers. "The word of the Brāhmaṇas pleases me in its entirety, there is no doubt of it, and if it pleases ye, too, then speak to me quickly about it". They all, thus spoken to, said to the Lord of men : "May it be so". Then the king ordered those engaged in (various) activities according to custom ; and all the artisans were ordered to make the plough. As ordered, O excellent king, everything was done in accordance with the proper method'.

'Then all the artisans and the noble ministers and Vidura the great sage, announced to the son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, "O king, the preeminent sacrifice has been made ready, and the time for it has arrived, O Bhārata. And the divine golden plough costing much treasure, has been made". The preeminent king, the son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra having heard this, O Lord of men, gave orders for the celebration of the king of sacrifices. Then was solemnised the sacrifice in which there was abundant food and which was well prepared. And the son of Gāndhārī (Duryodhana) was consecrated according to the scriptures and the correct method. And Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Vidura of great fame, Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Kṛpa, Karṇa and the famed Gāndhārī, all became jubilant.'[10]

The epic then continues to relate how messengers were sent to various rulers in India inviting them to be present at the ceremony, how all of them, except the Pāṇḍavas, honoured occasion by their presence, how the assembled princes, priests and others were received and entertained befittingly by Vidura, and how the sacrifice was solemnised without any hitch and according to the rules laid down for it. When Duryodhana entered the capital after the great sacrifice, some people murmured that it was in no way equal in its efficacy to the Rājasūya performed by Yudhiṣṭhira, but the friends of Duryodhana proclaimed aloud that it was the very sacrifice that had been performed in olden days by famous kings like Yayāti, Nahuṣa, Māndhātṛ and Bharata. In the epic account of this Vaiṣṇava sacrifices, there is no reference whatever to the immolation of beasts, which was an essential feature of most of the Brahmanical sacrifices of this nature, such as the Rājasūya and the Aśvamedha.

I am not aware that a sacrifice of this name is referred to or described in the Brahmanical books on ritual, nor of any other reference to its being performed by a king in ancient India, historical or mythical unless the ploughing by Janaka, at which Sītā is said to have appeared from the furrow, be taken to have been meant as a ritual. One is, however, not justified in concluding that this sacrifice was an invention of the bard of the *Mahābhārata*. There could have been some tradition that it was a ceremony appropriate for a king desiring religious sanction to his temporal power. In the epic, the Kauravas who are said to have performed the Vaiṣṇava sacrifice, are represented as embodiments of injustice and evil, and after it gained the approbation of the ruling classes of India, no sacrifice of that type would have been performed by any other king, even if there was a tradition with regard to it.

When we compare the accounts given in the Ceylon chronicles of Devānaṁpiya Tissa's ceremonial establishment of the limits of the Mahāvihāra with the description in the Sanskrit epic of Duryodhana's performance of the Vaiṣṇava sacrifice, it becomes clear that the main ritual in both is the same, that is the ploughing of the ground by the king in an area set apart for religious purposes. In the epic it was the sacrificial enclosure ; in the chronicle it was the boundary for the Uposatha ceremony of the monks. In both cases the plough is said to have been made of gold. In the epic, the gold is supplied by princes who had acknowledged the sacrificer as their overlord. In the chronicle there is no similar statement, but it is significant that the *Dīpavaṁsa*, in its account of the ceremony, refers to Devānaṁpiya Tissa as the destroyer of his enemies (*arindamo*) implying that it is one appropriate to a victorious monarch. In the *Mahābhārata*, the Brāhmaṇas officiate at Duryodhana's ceremony, but in a ceremony performed by a king converted to the Buddhist faith, there was no place for them. Their place is taken by Mahinda and the other Theras. Considering that the central ritual of both ceremonies was the same, one may reasonably ask the question whether Devānaṁpiya Tissa's taking part in that ritual did not have a political significance which Duryodhana's participation in a similar ritual definitely had.

In this connection, I may refer the reader to a previous essay of mine, *Two Royal Titles of the Early Sinhalese and the Origin of Kingship in Ancient Ceylon*[13] in which I have pointed out that before Devānaṁpiya Tissa there was no *abhiṣeka* of kings in Ceylon, and that he was the first ruler who had that ceremony performed on him with the requisites sent for that purpose by Aśoka. Thus one of the purposes of the mission sent by Devānaṁpiya Tissa to Aśoka was to obtain the approval of the Maurya emperor for his assumption of the royal dignity which his predecessors, known as *gāmaṇī* (Skt. *grāmaṇī*) did not enjoy. In ancient India the *abhiṣeka* was often associated with a Vedic sacrifice like the Rājasūya. The Buddhists condemned these sacrifices as they involved the immolation of living creatures, and on other grounds. But rulers who had espoused Buddhism might not have reconciled themselves to the absence of such rituals altogether. A substitute therefore was necessary for the abolished sacrifices, if the Buddhist Church was to ensure itself of the patronage of kings. If the Vaiṣṇava sacrifice referred to in the *Mahābhārata*, which did not necessitate the slaughter of animals, was then known in royal tradition, the leaders of the Buddhist Church might very well have adopted it, with suitable modifications, as a consecration ceremony for rulers who put themselves under their spiritual guidance. But, as in the case of the adoption by early Buddhists of the pre-Buddhist cult of the *stūpa* and Tree-worship, the ancient ritual had to be given a new significance and integrated into the practices of the Saṅgha. This was done by associating the ploughing ceremony with the establishment of the boundaries for the Uposatha. It therefore seems probable that, like the *abhiṣeka* of Tissa according to Maurya ceremonial and with the requisites sent for the purpose by Aśoka, the ritual of the ploughing was also carried out according to directions from the Maurya court to mark the consecration of Devānaṁpiya Tissa as king.

If so, the question would naturally arise whether such a ritual was solemnised by the Maurya emperors themselves at their consecration. So far as I know, there is no evidence for such a conclusion in literary or epigraphical sources. But these are of such a nature that there was no necessity for them to dwell on the practices followed by the Maurya emperors at their coronation. None of the Mauryas is reported to have solemnised the Brahmanical ritual of the Rājasūya or the Aśvamedha, and it is difficult to believe that they did not go through any ceremony which gave religious sanction to their imperial status. But the names of some of the ancient Tamil kings indicate that the ritual in question was practised by them. The element *kuṭṭuvan* in the name of the famous Cera king Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ appears to be the same as Sanskrit *kṛṣṭavān*, 'he who ploughed' and 'Kiḷḷi', a title of the early Coḷa kings, may also be etymologically connected with Skt. *Kṛṣṭa.*

With regard to the other two Sinhalese kings who are reported to have ploughed the ground with a golden or gilt plough to establish the boundaries of Buddhist monastic institutions, the king of Anurādhāpura at the time of Fa-Hsien's visit was Mahānāma. It is now definitely known that this monarch began his reign between 409 and 411 A.C.[14]. Fa-Hsien came to the Island in 411 and stayed two years within which the ceremony was performed by the king. The ceremony, therefore, was performed by him following his accession closely enough for it to have been regarded as a consecration ceremony. In the case of Parākramabāhu I, there is no reason to take that he meant the ceremony as a symbol of consecration. Brahmanical practices had been adopted by the Sinhalese kings at this time, and the ceremony was carried out by him several years after his accession. In the case of Parākrambāhu II, however, it is stated in a Sinhalese work that he was coronated on the day of the Ploughing Festival (*Vap-magula*)[15]. This was celebrated annually, and it is known that the Sinhalese kings were also crowned every year during their reigns[16]. But the day on which the annual coronation was celebrated is not definitely stated in our authorities.

Reverting now to the establishment of the boundaries of the Mahāvihāra, it is noteworthy that thirty-two *māḷakas* ('terraces' or 'high places') were constructed along the line of the furrow, while another *māḷaka* was located in the centre where the Thūpārāma Dāgāba was built shortly afterwards. There were thus altogether thirty-three *māḷakas* in the Mahāvihāra called Tissārāma after the name of the king, as it was believed to have been established by Devānaṁpiya Tissa. This number thirty-three recalls to our mind the Heaven of the Thirty-three gods (P. Tāvatiṁsa, Skt. Tryastriṁśa) ruled by Indra. In the Theravāda Buddhist kingdom of Pegu of the fourteenth century, there were thirty-two provinces whose governors, together with the king, made up the number of gods in Indra's heaven.[17] It is therefore not mere rhetoric when the *Mahābodhivaṁsa* states that Devānaṁpiya Tissa went to the ploughing ceremony with the splendour of the King of the gods

(*deva-rājā-līlayā*). The attendance of the chief dignitaries of the realm was also an essential part of the ritual, for evidently they were represented by the *māḷakas* along the boundary of the ground dedicated to the Saṅgha, while the king was represented by the terrace for the Thūpārāma. We thus see how, even at so early a time, an integration of the religious ceremonies with the political organisation of the kingdom had been affected.

NOTES

1. See the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Geiger's translation, Chapters XIV—XV.
2. *Dīpavaṁsa*, edited and translated by H. Oldenberg, London, 1879, Chapter XIV, vv. 28—41 ; translation, pp. 181 f.
3. *Dīpavaṁsa*, *Op. cit.*, chapter XV, vv 180—194.
4. *Mahābodhivaṁsa*, P. T. S. Edition, pp. 133 ff.
5. Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol I, p. lxxvi f.
6. *Cūḷavaṁsa*, Geiger's translation, part ii, p. 109 ; chapter 78, vv. 57—60.
7. H. Oldenberg, *Vinaya Piṭakam*, Vol. I, pp. 104 ff ; *Vinaya-pitaka*, translated by I.B. Horner (*The Book of the Discipline*) Vol. IV, pp. 136 ff.
8. *Dīpavaṁsa*, *op. cit*. chapter X, v, 14 ; p. 14.
9. *Mahābhārata*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Poona. Book III *Araṇyaparva*, chapter 241, vv. 17—28.
10. *Ya ime pṛthivīpālā karadās tava pārthiva*
Te karān samprayacchantu suvarṇam ca kṛtākṛtam
Tena te kriyatām adya lāṅgalam nṛpasattama
Yajñāvāṭasya te bhūmiḥ kṛṣyatāṁ tena Bhārata
Tatra yajño nṛpaśreṣṭha prabhūtānnaḥ susaṁskṛtaḥ
Eṣa te Vaiṣṇavo nāma yajñaḥ satpuruṣocitaḥ
Etena neṣṭavān kaścid ṛte Viṣṇum purātanam
Rājasūyaṁ kratuśreṣṭhaṁ spardhatyeṣa mahākratuḥ
Asmākaṁ rocate caiṣa śreyaś ca tava Bhārata
Avighnaś ca bhaved eṣa saphalā syāt spṛhā tava
Evam uktas tu taiḥ viprair Dhārtarāṣtro mahīpatiḥ
Karṇaṁ ca Saubalaṁ caiva bhrātṛṁścaivedam abravīt
Rocate me vacaḥ kṛtsnaṁ brāhmaṇānāṁna saṁśayaḥ
Rocate yadi yuṣmākaṁ tan mā prabrūta māciram
Evam uktās tu te sarve tathetyūcur narādhipam
Saṁdideśa tato rājā vyāpārasthān yathākramam
Halasya karaṇe cāpi vyādiṣṭāḥ sarvaśilpinaḥ
Yathoktaṁ ca nṛpaśreṣṭha kṛtaṁ sarvaṁ yathākramam
Mahābhārata, *op. cit.* Book. III, chapter 241 vv. 29—37.

Tatas tu śilpinaḥ sarve amātyapravarās ca ha
Viduraś ca mahāprājño Dhārtarāṣṭre nyavedayat
Sajjaṁ kratuvaraṁ rājan kālapraptaṁ ca Bhārata
Sauvarṇam ca kṛtaṁ divyaṁ lāṇgalaṁ suṁahādhanam
Etacchrutvā nṛpaśreṣṭho Dhārtarāṣṭro viśāṁ pate
Ājñāpayāmāsa nṛpaḥ kraturājapravartanam
Tataḥ pravavṛte yajñaḥ prabhūtānnaḥ susaṁskṛtaḥ
Dīkṣitaś cāpi Gāndhārir yathāśāstraṁ yathākramam
Prhṛṣṭo Dhṛtarāṣṭro 'bhūd Viduraś ca mahāyaśaḥ
Bhīṣmo Droṇaḥ Kṛpaḥ Karṇo Gāndhārī ca yaśasvinī

Mahābhārata, op. cit. Book. III, chapter, 242, vv 1—5.

11. *Mahābhārata, op. cit.* Book. III, chapter, 242, vv. 5—24.
12. *Dīpavaṁsa*, chapter XIV, v. 30.
13. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* for 1936 pp. 444—462.
14. See my paper 'New Light on the Buddhist Era in Ceylon and Early Sinhalese Chronology' in the *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 129 ff.
15. *Dambadeṇi-asna*, edited by D. D. Ranasinghe, Colombo, 1928, p. 2.
16. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, p. 52,
17. R, O. Winstedt, Kingship rnd Enthronement in Malaya, *JRAS* for 1945, p. 144.

Manomohan Ghosh
Vesiting Professor of Sanskrit in Cambodia (1957-63)

DATE OF THE BAYON AND OF THE ANGKOR VAT

French scholars especially those attached to l'E'cole Française d'Extrême-Orient have laid under deep obligation all persons who are interested in the history and culture of Cambodia and the adjoining countries. The industry and patience with which they have worked, and the critical acumen they have shown, are marvellous. Hence in coming forward to re-examine some of their views one must apologize in advance.

1. Date of the Bayon

The latest view about the date of the Bayon is that this was built by Jayavarman VII to shelter Lokeśvara, and was later on converted into a temple of Śiva as a result of sectarian reaction about twentyeight years after the death of the builder[1]. But to anyone going carefully through the inscriptions of Cambodia, which bear unmistakeable evidence of a high degree of mutual tolerance among the different Brahmanical and Buddhist sects[2], this view of acute rivalry is very much puzzling. Not that the French scholars who arrived at such a conclusion, were unaware of its startling nature. For M. G. Coedès who is the father of this theory, felt the necessity of defending it in course of lectures he delivered in 1943 before a non-specialist audience of Hanoi[3]. He then spoke very frankly about the difficulty of fixing the chronology of Cambodian temples, and about the vicissitudes which the dating of all Cambodian monuments except those of the groups of Rolous, of Koh Ker and the Angkor Vat, underwent during the preceding twenty years (1923-1943).

Till the year 1923 people were given to understand that the Bayon and all the related monuments (Ta Prohm, Banteay Kdei, Prah Khan etc.) belonged to the period of Jayavarman II, who reigned in the first half of the ninth century. This was the view followed by M. Henri Marchal a conservator of the monuments of Angkor, in his guide[4]. But in another guide published in the same year, the Bayon was placed in the second half of the ninth century[5] during the reign of Yaśovarman I. The English edition of Marchal's guide published in 1930 reduced, however, the age of this monument by three centuries, evidently in recognition of a novel theory started by some specialist. But it appeared from an event which took place three years later, that this view had not the support of all the specialists. For a publicity pamphlet of the official tourist bureau printed in 1933, affirmed that the savants of l'E'cole Française d'Extrême-Orient placed the construction of the Bayon in the ninth century[6].

The event which induced some scholars to re-examine the earlier views was that in 1924 the Department of Conservation of Angkor discovered in the débris of the ruined parts of the Bayon a fronton representing Lokeśvara, the compassionate Bodhisattva of the Mahayana. This led them to suspect a vandalism which consisted of damaging Buddhist images for replacing them by Śivaite symbols, and it was finally concluded by M. Coedès that the Bayon like all its *congenères* was integrally a Buddhist monument[7]. M. Louis Finot endorsed this view, and gave reasons why he considered Jayavarman II, believed at that time to be the builder of the Bayon, to have been originally a Buddhist[8]. According to this hypothesis dated 1925, the building of Yaśodharapura (Angkor Thom) and of the Central Mount of the Bayon was completed by Yaśovarman I after a plan made by one of his predecessors, and it was he who converted the Buddhist sanctuary into a Śivaite temple[9]. This hypothesis, M. Coedès thought, aggravated the difficulties[10]. For it placed this large stone edifice between some temples which from their art were assigned to the eighth century, and the brick temples of the Lolei group assigned to the ninth century[11]. He probably meant to say that the art of the Bayon being of a more advanced type, should have been placed later.

But whatever might be the value of this hypothesis, M. Philippe Stern the Curator of the Musée Guimet, after a close study in 1927 'of the decorative art of the sculpture and particularly their costumes, divided the art of Angkor into two periods, and placed the Bayon in the more recent one. In M. Coedès's words, this was the first attack on the dogma solidly established. M. Stern propounded the ingenious theory that the city built by Yaśovarman I was different and a smaller one which was extended by Sūryavarman I at the beginning of the 11th century, and being a Buddhist[12] the latter was the builder of the Bayon and other temples resembling it in style and decoration[13].

According to M. Coedès, this theory though it suppressed some difficulties in solving the problem of the date of the Bayon, it created new ones[14]. He then thought that these difficulties could be obviated after a fresh study of the inscriptions of Jayavarman VII (or rather inscription issued during his reign) which covered the edifices resembling the Bayon in their art. The long inscription of Ta Prohm issued by his son Prince Indrakumāra is included in these. After completing this study, M. Coedès concluded that Jayavarman VII was a fervent Buddhist and was besides a megalomaniac[15], and these facts gave the king the best right to claim the honour of building the Bayon. M. Coedès thought that this explained the Buddhist character of the Bayon as well as other aspects of this great monument[16].

The conclusion of M. Coedès obtained full support of Henri Parmentier, Head of the Archaeological Department of l'E'cole Française, another scholar well-known for his contribution to the art and archaeology of Cambodia. But as we have pointed out, this conclusion is very much puzzling and we have given a good reason for it. This is why a re-examination of the whole problem has been considered necessary. Before beginning this, one must have a more detailed view of the findings of scholars who wrote earlier on the subject. As the prevailing view does not seem to be solidly based on facts, this detailed view may prove helpful.

Among the scholars who studied the Cambodian history and archaeology, the name of Etienne Aymonier stands out most prominently. He carried out researches at a time when most of the important inscriptions of Cambodia, came to light and were studied, and the principal architectural monuments were also examined. His great work on Cambodia in three magnificent volumes in which he not only gathered the results of the labours of his predecessors, but contributed greatly by his own researches to the exploration of the history of the land and its people, was published in 1901—1904, and still repays perusal. In this work he was positively of opinion that the Angkor Thom and the Bayon went back to the time of Jayavarman II who restored the power of Kambuja. Some of his remarks regarding the date of the Angkor Vat may also be recalled with profit in the present connection. He refuted the view of those who thought that this monument was built by Jayavarman III, and gave reasons why it could not be posterior to Sūryavarman II. He thought that each of the two successors of the latter reigned for too short a period to have been able to build such a large monument. And as for Jayavarman VII who came after the two, Aymonier wrote, "even if he belongs to the series of builder kings and may be counted as a king of the great period of Cambodian epigraphy, his reign as we shall find soon, will submit to the disgrace of an invasion penetrating as far as the heart of the empire, and for avenging this cruel injury, this king will launch out into formidable wars during the closing years of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, and all this will end in the definite decline of Cambodia. The era of great builders will pass away. One may affirm that none among the successors of Sūryavarman II could make his people produce such a colossal work as the building of the Angkor Vat was."[17] Even if later researches have proved that Kambuja had to submit to the very damaging foreign invasion not during the reign of Jayavarman VII but during that of his immediate predecessor, the value of Aymonier's observation still remains.

J. Commaille the first conservator of the monuments of Angkor writing in 1910 about the Bayon, Baphuon and Phimeanakas etc., was of opinion that all these monuments had an indisputable Brahmanic character, and he thought that their architectural motifs and decorative works spoke for their great antiquity. He was inclined to place the Bayon in the reign of Yaśovarman I (889—910)[18]. His opinion about the relation between Buddhism and Brahmanism during the Angkor period deserves more than a passing notice. He pointed out the mutilation of some specimens of Brahmanical sculptures in the Angkor Thom "belonging to the epoch when Buddhism (doctrine of the North) coexisted with Brahmanism without rivalry"[19]. He also suggested that the mutilation might be ascribed to invaders from Siam and from Campā[20].

Auguste Barth writing in 1913 ascribed the Bayon to Yaśovarman I.[21] And H. Dufour in the same year considered the tower-faces of the Bayon as belonging to Śiva and in his opinion these towers symbolized the *mukhaliṅgas* which in the neighbouring Campā carried often four, five or six faces, and he had no doubt about the Śivaite character of these towers.[22] In the Madrolle Guide to Angkor compiled evidently by Claudius Madrolle, one reads, "In pagodas (of Cambodia) the statues and Buddhist scenes share with the Brahmanical gods the honour of being depicted in the walls."[23] From this guide it is also learnt that all the sculptures and Brahmanical murals (bas-reliefs) in Ta Prohm have been mutilated by foreign invaders.[24] About a similar destructive activity in Prah Khan, the same guide writes "A considerable number of scenes and Brahmanical gods have been carved in the door-sides, friezes, walls and niches, but everywhere a systematic devastation has done its work"[25].

From the foregoing accounts it is evident that the scholars working before the current theory was put forward, held the following views :—

I. The Bayon goes back to the 9th century (from the reign of Jayavarman II to that of Yaśovarman I).
II. Jayavarman VII with his long preoccupation with foreign wars could not have built a very large monument.
III. The Bayon was a Brahmanical (Śivaite) monument.
IV. There was no sectarian quarrel between the followers of Buddha and of the Brahmanical gods in Cambodia.
V. Four faces in the towers of the Bayon were those of Śiva.

Besides this, the mutilations of sculptures and bas-reliefs of Brahmanical origin only have been noticed, and ascribed to foreign, especially Siamese invaders, While these were some important aspects of researches on the Bayon, a pamphlet named *L'Origin d'Angkor* by Louis Finot the then Director of l'E'cole Française d'Extrême-Orient was published from Phnom Penh (Cambodia). The view expressed in this, on the history of the Bayon has already been mentioned. It goes without saying that in the first part of this hypothesis, Finot reiterated the view of Aymonier that the Bayon was built by Jayavarman II, and supplemented the same by a hypothesis that this great king turned an apostate apparently for political advantage. Without any satisfactory evidence he assumed that the Buddhist images and bas-reliefs all over Angkor Thom including the Bayon, were damaged with hammers under instruction either of Jayavarman II himself or of his successors, and secondary edifices of Śivaite character were then added to the temple.[26] The damaged condition of Buddhist images and bas-reliefs came then to be noticed for the first time. This, considered together with the damaged condition of the Brahmanical emblems and images already noticed by scholars, may lead one to conclude that the followers of Buddhism and Brahmanism must have once fought each other bitterly. But neither the inscriptions nor the local traditions know anything of the kind. Finot, however, thought that his hypothesis derived good support from the fact that Jayavarman II came from Java which at that time was dominated by the cult of Lokeśvara.[27] A strong objection against this, is that the toponomy of Java is vague. Finot himself admits this and identifies Java with the southern part of Sumatran empire of 8th-9th century, and is inclined to include the Malaya peninsula into this.[28] Of the religious condition of this Java, however, we have no definite picture. All that we know in this regard is that the cult of Buddha and Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi was prevalent at that time in Malaya,[29] and in Java there were cults of Tārā and Mañjuśrī. And if we believe with Dr. R. C. Majumdar that the seat of the Śailendra empire was then in Malaya, we may find there the cult of Lokeśvara also.[30] In view of all this, it is difficult to assume that the cult of Lokeśvara was dominant in the eighth century Java from where Jayavarman II came to rule Cambodia. But a still greater objection to Finot's hypothesis comes from the Sdok Kak Thom inscription. To avoid this difficulty, Finot very boldly assumed that the Śivaite writer of this *praśasti* concealed facts prejudicial to his own sect. To start a hypothesis to support another and on no evidence, is however not good methodology. With all one's respect for this great savant, one cannot accept this. But it would be unfair to assume that Finot did not know the weakness of his hypothesis. At the end of his pamphlet, he shows his historian's probity by saying "I do not claim that this hypothesis eliminates all difficulties and illuminates all dark points. All I can say is that in the actual state of researches, this hypothesis covers better than others the facts known to us".[31]

But whatever might be the value of Finot's hypothesis about Jayavarman II's apostacy from Buddhism, his view about the Bayon going back to the time of this great monarch seems to be based on good reason. Many structural defects of this monument were brought to light by the French engineers in charge of its conservation. These defects undoubtedly led to its greater decay which can be explained best on the assumption that the Bayon was the first large stone monument constructed by the Cambodians. Experience gathered in course of its construction was surely utilized in later buildings which are in a better state of preservation. It is probably for this reason that M. H. Marchal in his French guide to Angkor (1928) follows Finot's view about the date of the Bayon, though he did not share his hypothesis about a sectarian rivalry between the Buddhists and Śivaites. On this latter point M. Marchal writes, "The Buddhist creed of Mahayana that reigned over Cambodia at the time of Angkor, offers this peculiarity of sometimes using the worship of Śiva and that of Bodhisattva Lokeśvara. Besides this, the Brahmanic gods have been incorporated in the Mahayana Buddhism where they were transformed into witnesses and defenders of the creed : they figure for this reason beside Buddha on the bas-reliefs."[32] This may be said to show clearly that M. Marchal did not find any evidence of sectarian quarrel on the monuments. And like his predecessor Commaille, he also thought that the mutilation and destruction of sculptures and bas-reliefs might have been due to foreign invaders.[33]

But Finot's hypothesis reacted differently on MM. Coedès, Parmentier and Goloubew. They thought that they discovered in the damaged condition of the sculptures and bas-reliefs of Buddhist character, the reason of the Buddhist origin of the Bayon. It is probably the theory of M. Ph. Stern regarding the late age of the Bayon[34] that also influenced them in this regard. And to support the view of M. Coedès, M. V. Goloubew assumed without any conclusive evidence that Phnom Bakheng—not the Bayon—was the Central Mount (*Vnam Kantal*) of the Sdok Kak Thom inscription.[35] He and M. Coedès also overlooked the fact that the Bayon as a temple of Śiva (Devarāja) in Angkor Thom suited exactly the traditional Indian plan of a royal capital which must be a fortified city (*durga*), as described in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.[36] As work like this latter was not unknown in Kambuja,[37] it is possible that such a work influenced the plan of Yaśodharapura or Angkor Thom.

Another argument supposed to uphold the original Buddhist character of the Bayon, is the belief that the faces on the towers represent those of Lokeśvara. But here too there were more theories than one. Originally it was believed that they represented Brahmā. This view held the field till 1902 when Paul Pelliot showed from the travel-accounts of the Chinese Tcheou Ta-Kuan that the number of faces decorating the towers at the gate of the royal city (Angkor) was five, and as such they represented Śiva who is generally believed to have five faces. And in 1911 Louis Finot concluded that the towers with faces on them, symbolized *mukhaliṅgas*, though he gave up this idea later on, and ascribed the faces to Lokeśvara. But there may be some good objection against the Buddhist character of these faces. The so-called "sourire bouddhique" which many scholars detected in these faces, can scarcely belong to Lokeśvara who is a god of compassion.[38] For the sentiment of compassion can scarcely induce a smile. On the other hand Śiva has often been associated with laughter. For example, Kālidāsa in his description of the snowcapped Himālaya compares the mountain with the laughter of Śiva (*rāśibhūtaḥ pratidinam iva tryambakasyāṭṭahāsaḥ*)[39]. In Kambuja also, Śiva was known as Prahasiteśvara (lord of laughter). An inscription begins as follows :

श्रीमान् विजयते देवः स श्रीप्रहसितेश्वरः ।
यस्याननश्रीः कुरुते दिशः सकमलाकराः ॥[40]

The architect of the Bayon who planned the faces on the towers was in all likelihood inspired by an idea similar to that contained in the second hemistich of this Skt. couplet. Hence the faces on towers should belong to Śiva. M. Coedès would however not believe that the number of faces on towers was five, and he thinks that this would strengthen the claim of Lokeśvara[41]. But even here there is some difficulty. For P. C. Bagchi who studied the question thoroughly, thought that the tower-faces represented the four faces of Tumburu (Śiva in one form), from which according to the Sdok Kak Thom inscription the four śāstras Śiraścheda, Vināśika, Sammoha and Nayottara came out and furnished rituals for the consecration of Devarāja (Śiva) who was installed in the Central Mount (of the Bayon)[42]. Hence one may be justified in thinking that the tower-faces whether four or five in number belong to Śiva and not to Lokeśvara.

Though all these discussions give us important indications regarding the Brahmanic character of the Bayon, we are not quite sure about this, till we have studied carefully the career of Jayavarman VII who is supposed to have built up this great monument together with others. The two most essential aspects of his reign came indeed from the resources at his disposal and his personal religious tendency. Those who have confidently ascribed the Bayon to this king, do not seem to have paid any attention to these. Let us first think of the resources at his disposal. When Jayavarman VII came to occupy the throne of Kambuja, it was already in a state of anarchy for four years. This period began with an incursion of Campā which invaded and pillaged the country and put the king to death[43]. The first thing which very properly occupied the attention of Jayavarman VII on coming to the throne, was a reconstruction of the administration and building up sufficient economic and military strength. But he could not attend to these things quite peacefully. He had to face a rebellion of his subjects in Malyang in 1182[44]. The fact that he had to send a foreign prince for chastizing the rebels, shows that he had not many able and trustworthy officers at his disposal for this kind of work. Hence putting of his vast empire in order must have taken at least ten years, and even before he completed this task he had to think of a war of revenge with Campā which brought the worst humiliation and disaster to Kambuja. Next, the various wars which he carried on against Campā and in which he was not uniformly successful[45], must have taken at least another ten years. Hence Jayavarman VII could not turn his attention to his public works including the construction of temples, installation of gods before 1200 when he may be said to have finished his wars with Campā and made it a province of Kambuja. There are reasons to believe that his empire began to decline from about 1216. For between 1216 and 1218 most of Cambodian troops in Campā had to be withdrawn[46]. The cause of this withdrawal might have been a successful revolt in Campā or a revolt in some distant outpost of the Cambodian empire. In view of all these facts, Jayavarman VII had more or less sixteen years left to pay attention to his public works. Now sixteen years would be too short a time to build all three temples like Ta Prohm, Prah Khan and the Bayon as well as to establish 102 hospitals and setting up very numerous gods throughout the length and breadth of his empire. Moreover the finances of the state which had to meet the huge expenditure of a prolonged warfare could scarcely be expected to deplete itself further in undertaking the building of temples. This is one of the most important reasons why the Bayon cannot be ascribed to the reign of Jayavarman VII[47]. The question of his religious tendency is also equally important. There should not be any doubt that Jayavarman VII's devotion to Buddha was not exclusive and he had a good deal of regard for the Brahmanical deities. We have discussed the question elsewhere in detail[48]. A brief *resumé* of the same is as follows :—(i) Jayavarman VII appointed a Vedic scholar named Hṛṣikeśa as his *hotar*, (ii) He installed two images of Nṛtyeśvara or the Dancing Śiva, and made provisions for the worship of Bhagavān (Śiva) and Bhagavatī (Pārvatī) ; among the four hundred and thirty images he installed in the temple Prah Khan, at least forty were those of Śiva and his associates, (iii) one of his inscriptions say "Whereas Prayāga (in India) was sanctified by two *tīrthas* (Gaṅgā and Yamunā), his Jayaśrīnagarī has three *tīrthas* in its neighbourhood and they are Buddha, Śiva and Viṣṇu" (Prah Khan, St. 33). In view of these facts it is difficult to believe that Jayavarman VII was a thoroughly Buddhist king and the Bayon was built by him to shelter a Buddhist image.

Now it being clear from the foregoing discussions that the Bayon was not a Buddhist sanctuary at any time, and Jayavarman VII had nothing to do regarding its construction, we are left with the only alternative to conclude, according to the Sdok Kak Thom inscription that this monument was completed by Yaśovarman I and it surely sheltered Devarāja (Śiva) from the beginning. This, however, does not preclude one from assuming that its construction was begun during the reign of Jayavarman II[49].

The Bayon as the seat of Devarāja explains also the unique fact that its central tower unlike that of the other temples was circular[50]. This was evidently to suggest that the tower covering the cylindrical linga was a huge sheath of the same. For sheaths of lingas have been often mentioned in inscriptions of Campā[51], and they appear at least twice in inscriptions of Kambuja[52]. A particular inscription of Campā mentions the installation of a linga with two sheaths one movable, another fixed, and the former having faces depicted on it[53]. This latter was evidently meant for converting the linga from time to time into a *mukhaliṅga*. The central tower of the Bayon with faces carved on it, was thus a sheath covering the linga named Devarāja[54]. The conclusion which Finot once made regarding the *mukhaliṅga* character of the towers (with faces) and which he unfortunately gave up later on, was therefore marvellously accurate. Another peculiar fact about the heads carved on the towers, is that they wear jewelled diadems and their neck is surrounded by a closely adjusted necklace[55]. These features also have their justification from the fact that Śiva whom they represented was, conceived here as a king (*devarāja*=king of gods) and as such was entitled to ornaments.

All these would accord perfectly with the available facts. If we find some Buddhistic images like Lokeśvara in the Bayon, it was simply due to the fact that the cult of Lokeśvara which had a great affinity with that of Śiva was very much in vogue in Kambuja during the ninth century[56] when the Bayon was in all probability built, and Jayavarman II sincerely devoted to Śiva as he was, had thus every reason to show honour to Mahayanic gods by alloting places to them in the greatest sanctuary of the capital. Thus the Brahmanical and Buddhist images and bas-reliefs having their places side by side, their mutilation and disfigurement can easily be ascribed to the invaders from Campā, Siam and Annam, who in the frenzy of their destruction could hardly afford to be selective.

The. difference in styles of decorative arts and costumes observed in the sculptures and bas-reliefs which gave to M. Ph. Stern indication regarding their different ages, can be explained by assuming that this difference was due to the fact that the craftsmen engaged for the work came from different parts of the empire of Kambuja and carried several local styles and traditions.

The general character of the bas-reliefs or the Bayon also seems to lend support to our conclusion. For, of the fourteen wings of the four galleries (West, East, North and South) of the Bayon, as described by M. H. Marchal, only two wings (North gallery-west wing and South gallery-north wing) deal exclusively with Indian (Brahmanic) mythology, while all the rest of the wings depict sometimes partially sometimes exclusively, fighting scenes, defiling of an army on the march, other war-scenes, single fights, pugilistic and wrestling scenes[57]. To this may be added the battle-scenes from the Indian epics. The motive of the person 'who planned the bas-reliefs seems to have been to arouse and sustain the martial spirit of the people who would be attracted through piety to the sanctuary of Śiva the guardian deity of the realm. Jayavarman II who had to engage himself in so many battles to free his country from foreign domination was likely to have felt it necessary that the fighting spirit of his subjects should be sustained. For this was the most important means of giving stability to his empire.

Conclusion

We should therefore conclude that the Bayon was planned during the latter part of Jayavarman II's reign, and was completed by Yaśovarman I, and it sheltered from the beginning the linga named Devarāja (Śiva)[58], and the Mahayanic images were accommodated in it as *parivāra-devatās* (subsidiary deities).

II. Date of the Angkor Vat

Though it is usually believed that the date of the Angkor Vat is based on dependable evidence, a closer inquiry into the matter may give one an altogether different view. And the re-examination of the whole question should rightly begin with an enquiry into the meaning of the name of the monument. Almost all the writers on Cambodia know for certain that the "Angkor Vat" is another form of "Nokor Vat" which is derived from Nagara-vāṭa[59]. They think that *Angkor* and *nokor* (=nagara, Skt.) are synonymous. But there is one great difficulty in accepting this etymology. For, the word *nokor* is still in use in the same region in the name of a village "Nokor Kraou" near the Angkor Thom[60]. One fails to understand how the Skt. loan word *nagara* could assume two different forms in such a close proximity. It is nothing short of a linguistic miracle. Savants of l'Ecole Française have, however, not taken notice of this. Still one's faith in the suggested etymology is shaken, and one gradually learns that the name 'Angkor Vat' does not go up beyond the 19th century when the foreigners gave this new name to the most well-known among the Cambodian monuments[61]. The reason why this new name was given to an old monument is not clear. It seems that this being the first large temple coming in view of the tourists approaching the monuments of Angkor group from Seam-reap, the first Europeans visiting this temple called it Angkor Vat or the Vat (*vāstu*-building, sacred building) of Angkor. As almost an impenetrable forest covered the Angkor Thom at that early time, very few tourists could witness the other great monuments of Angkor and had to be satisfied with visiting the temple which they called Angkor Vat. We have seen before that this Angkor cannot have any connection with the Skt. word *nagara*.[62] Though the question of the origin of the word "Angkor" is very important, we are not directly concerned with this in connection with the date of the Angkor Vat which was known to the Cambodians of the past as Brah Bisnulok (=Varah Viṣṇulokaḥ[63]), and which accurately described this great sanctuary of Viṣṇu.

French scholars like M. H. Marchal, however, consider that the names given by the natives to their monuments are very often modern ones and as such devoid of any historical value.[64] But it seems that in the present case at least, the native name is solidly based on history, and such may be true in other cases as well.

Now this Angkor Vat *alias* Varaḥ Viṣṇulokaḥ has been assigned to the reign of Sūryavarman II who is considered to have been given the posthumous name of Parama-viṣṇuloka.[65] As there seems to be some agreement between the name of the monument and the supposed posthumous name of the builder, scholars have generally accepted this dating of the Angkor Vat. But on making a close study of the career of Sūryavarman II, one finds this date open to doubt. For, Sūryavarman II during his long reign of thirtyseven years had to engage himself in foreign wars from 1128 to 1145, and met with defeat as many as six times.[66] In view of these facts he could not have undertaken to build a great monument like the Angkor Vat along with the temples of Preah Prithu, Chausay Tevoda, Thommanon and Banteay Samré which have been ascribed to him. It does not seem to be possible that his treasury which had to meet the heavy demands of half a dozen expeditions against Dai Viet and Campā, could afford to pay for the construction of too many costly temples including the stupendous Angkor Vat.[67]

Besides this, all his inscriptions begin with an invocation of Śiva to whom he seems to have been mainly devoted,[68] and in none of them he betrayed any special solicitude for the cult of Viṣṇu in whose honour he was supposed to have erected this grand sanctuary.[69] In view of all this, his supposed posthumous name Parama-viṣṇuloka loses much of its value, and indeed a doubt about its authenticity was expressed by a reputed French historian.[70] The cause of his doubt seems to be perfectly valid. The name Parama-viṣṇuloka occurs in an inscription of the Angkor Vat, which we shall call the first inscription.[71] There is also another inscription in the Eastern gallery-north wing, of the same, which mentions one Mahā-viṣṇuloka Oṃkāravarman-rājādhirāja-rāmādhipati-varma-cakra-varti-rāja preah varah Mahīdhara. This we shall call the second inscription.[72] The Madrolle Guide places this second inscription in the 12th century.[73] But L. Finot omits the word "Oṃkāra" from this inscription, and places it in a period not earlier than the 15th century.[74] Whatever might be the actual date of this inscription, it raises the intriguing question as to who could be this mysterious Viṣṇuite king (with such a pompous title) in the 12th or the 15th century. A similar uncertainty arises also regarding the identity of Parama Viṣṇuloka mentioned in the first inscription. For, from a paleographic consideration the two inscriptions can scarcely be separated by more than two centuries.

For all these reasons, it seems very much to be unlikely that Sūryavarman II built the Angkor Vat or Varaḥ Viṣṇulokaḥ. We have given elsewhere our reasons why this monument should be ascribed to Yaśovarman I who showed a special leaning towards the cult of Viṣṇu.[75] Even if he might not have seen its completion, it was in all likelihood planned and begun by him and was completed by his sons and successors.[76] And some of the bas-reliefs were engraved probably much later. Names like Parama-viṣṇuloka and Mahā-viṣṇuloka might thus belong to some vassal kings who contributed towards its completion and their descendants tried to make them immortal by engraving their pictures and names in the bas-reliefs.

NOTES

1. Lawrence Palmer Briggs, The Ancient Khmer Empire, Philadelphia, 1951 (*reprinted* 1955). pp. 229, 239. George Coedès, Pour mieux comprendre Angkor, Paris, 1947, pp. 15, 143.
2. Dr. R. C. Majumdar in whose honour the present paper is offered, writes about the religious condition of Kambuja and Campā etc. as follows: "Although various Brahmanical sects flourished along with Buddhism, there was no animosity between their followers." The History and Culture of the Indian People, vol, IV, p. 437.
3. These lectures were published later on as the work cited under the note 1 above.
4. Guide Archeologique aux Temples d'Angkor, Paris, 1918, pp. 28, 29. But M. Marchal changed his view in the English ed. of it published in 1930.
5. Madrolle, Verse Angkor, Paris, 1928, p. XIII.
6. G. Coedès, *op. cit.* pp, 10.
7. G. Coedès, , *op. cit.* p. 11-12.
8. L'Origin d'Angkor, p. 22. See the note 26 below.
9. G. Coedès, *op. cit*, p. 12, see also the note below.
10. G. Coedès, *op. cit.* p. 13-14.
11. *ibid.*
12. *ibid.*
13. Philippe Stern, Le Bayon d'Angkor Thom et l'evolution de l'art Khmer, Paris, 1927. For a *resumé* of this, see Journal Asiatique, February-March, 1926, pp. 188 ff.
14. G. Coedès, *op. cit.* p. 14.
15. G. Coedès *op. cit* p. 15
16. *ibid.*
17. Le Cambodge, vol. III, Le Group d'Angkor et l'histoire, Paris, 1904. pp. 516-517.
18. Guide aux ruines d'Angkor, Paris, 1912. p. 8.
19. Le Monuments d'Angkor V. in Rev. Indo-chinoise, Oct. 1910 p. 3 ; see also his Guide aux ruines d'Angkor, pp. 25, 109.
20. Guide aux ruines d'Angkor, pp. 12-13, 112, 121, 157.
21. See his preface of H. Dufour's Le Bayon d'Angkor Thom described below.
22. H. Dufour, Le Bayon d'Angkor Thom ; Bas-reliefs par les soins de la Commissions Archéologiques de l'Indochine d'après les documents recueilles par mission Henri Dufour, Paris, 1913, Deuxieme Partie. p. 12.

23. Edition 1925, p. XIV.
24. *ibid*, p. 64.
25. *ibid*, p. 67.
26. L'Origin d'Angkor, Phnom Penh, 1922, *republished* in 1956. References are to this later reprint, pp. 8, 9, 17.
27. *ibid*, p. 19.
28. *ibid*.
29. M. Coedès, Histoire Ancienne des Etats Hindouisés d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, 1944, p. 120.
30. *ibid* p. 115.
31. L'Origin d'Angkor, p. 23.
32. Guide archéologique aux Temples d'Angkor, p. 8. But in the English edition of this Guide published in 1930, M. Marchal places the Bayon in the reign of Jayavarman VII.
33. *ibid*, p. 4.
34. See note 10 above.
35. Pour mieux comprendre Angkor, p. 144. The 'sagacity' which according to L. P. Briggs, was displayed (p. 109) with regard to the identification of Phnom Bakhèng, could not be detected by the present writer from the relevant writings of M. Goloubew in B E F E O, vol. 34 (pp. 414-416) and A B I A, 1934 (pp. 21—22).
36. ......*śiva-vaiśravanāśvi-śrī-madirā-gṛhaṃ ca puramadhye kārayet*. (Tr.······ temple of Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, Aśvins, Śrī and Madirā should be constructed in the middle of the city.) The translation of Shama Shastri is a little different. See J. N. Banerjee—The Development of Hindu Iconography, Second Edition, Calcutta, 1956, p. 86.
37. See M. Ghosh, A History of Cambodia. pp. 94—95.
38. Cf. Réné Grousset, Histoire d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, 1926, p. 579.
39. Meghadūta.
40. That splendid lord of laughter—the beautiful god, attains victory, and the beauty of his face makes all regions (lit. directions) full of lotus-lakes.
41. Oeuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot, III. Paris, 1951, p. 128.
42. P. C. Bagchi, Studies in the Tantras, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 15 ff. The expression "central mount (*Vnam Kantal*) possibly means "the central tower."
43. L. P. Briggs, *op. cit* p. 207.
44. *ibid*. p. 210 ; See also M. Ghosh, A History of Cambodia, Saigon, 1960, pp. 184, 185.
45. L. P. Briggs *op. cit*. p. 216.
46. *ibid*. p. 235.

47. M. Ghosh, *op. cit.* pp. 187-188.
48. *ibid.* pp. 183-184.
49. Here the writer's earlier view has been a little modified. Cp. M. Ghosh, *op-cit* p. 132.
50. L. P. Briggs, *op. cit.* pp. 223-224. See also the plan of the Bayon in H. Marchal's Guide.
51. P. C. Bagchi, *op. cit* p. 21.
52. A. Barth, Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge, p. 51 ; G. Coedès, Inscription du Cambodge, vol. I. p. 12 ; R. C. Majumdar, Insertption of Kambuja, pp. 33. 43.
53. A. Bergaigne, Inscriptions sanscrites du Campā, II. pp. 33, 37, IX. The relevant passage is as follows :
    तस्यैव स्थापितस्तेन द्वयं कोशञ्चरस्थिरम् । समुखञ्चरकोशं हि···
    Tr. By him was installed its two sheaths one movable and the other fixed —the movable one being endowed with faces. (Bergaigne's translation is slightly different ; see his Inscriptions sanscrites du Campā, II. pp. 33, 37, IX.
54. The other towers and similar towers in other temples may be decorative devices inspired by this central tower of the Bayon ; or they, at least, some of them, sheltered lingas even when they were not circular in plan. It may be mentioned in the present connection that the theory of Devarāja as formulated by the French savants, is scarcely supported by facts. The present writer has given conclusive arguments to refute this. See his History of Cambodia, pp. 112-113 and 149.
55. M. Pierre Dupont first pointed out (1936) that the supposed heads of Lokeśvara on the towers unlike other Lokeśvaras of Jayavarman II's time, carried ornaments. See L. P. Brigas, *op cit.* 223.
56. Louis Finot, Lokeśvara en Indochine in *Etudes Asiatiques.* Paris, 1925, Vol. I, p. 255.
57. Guide Archéologique au Temples d'Angkor, pp. 91, 106.
58. The Bayon as a temple of Śiva seems also to justify the popular name of the front gate as the "Gate of death." For, in all probability, the dead bodies of Cambodian kings and the nobility were taken out in procession by this gate after the preliminary funeral rites were performed in the compound of the temple, by the Śivaite priests in the presence of the linga. In view of the arguments given in this paper, it is difficult to believe that the statue discovered by M. Trouvé belonged to the central tower of the Bayon. See the writer's History of Cambodia p. 151. Cf. B E F E O, vol. XXXIII, pp. 116-117 ; L. P. Briggs, *op. cit.* 929. The recently published abridged version of M. Marchal's Guide (Nouveau guide d'Angkor, Phnom Penh, 1961)

has printed a representation of the Buddha supposed to have belonged in the central tower of the Bayon. The face of this image is quite well-preserved. One fails to understand why the iconoclasts who were supposed to have mutilated the image, treated it so kindly. It is probably on a consideration like this, L. P. Briggs did not include its picture in his profusely illustrated Ancient Khmer Empire.

59. J. Commaille, Guide p. 31 ; L. P. Briggs, *op. cit.* p. 196.
60. H. Marchal, Guide. p 187.
61. Louis Finot, Le Temple L'Angkor Vat, Part I, d'Architecture et Monument, Introduction, Memoires Archéologiques, vol. II. Paris, 1929, p. 8
62. Angkor has an earliar form in "Angbor" (Adhémard Leclère, Cambodge : Fêtes civiles et religieuses Paris, 1917, p. 337). This "Angbor" evidently goes back to *Aṅgabora<*Aṅgapura = *Aṅga-nagara. Cf. Aganagara (= *Aṅga-nagara) of Ptolemy, and Kaliṅga-nagara in the Khāravela inscription of Orissa.
63. *ibid*
64. H. Marchal, Guide. p. 83.
65. Louis Finot, Le Temple d'Angkor Vat, Part I pp. 6 7 L. P. Briggs *op. cit.* p. 196.
66. L. P. Briggs *op. cit.* pp. 190-192. M. Ghosh, *op. cit.* pp, 177-179.
67. M. Ghosh. *op. cit.* p. 179.
68. R. C. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Kambuja, pp. 428 ff.
69. *ibid*
70. Réné Grousset, *op. cit.* p. 566.
71. Louis Finot, Le Temple d'Angkor Vat, p. 8.
72. *ibid* ; also B E F E O, vol. xxiv. p. 513.
73. Verse Angkor, p. 49.
74. Le Temple d'Angkor Vat. p. 8.
75. M. Ghosh. *op. cit.* pp. 130-133.
76. *ibid.*

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* * *

Post Script

Add to the note 58. The assumed Cambodian custom of taking dead bodies to the shrine of a deity was of course Indian in origin. This custom still prevails in some parts of India. And those who assign the Bayon to Lokeśvara, forget that the statue supposed to have been found by Trouvé could more reasonably have been of the same deity and not of Buddha seated on the coil of a *nāga*.

G. Cœdes

LE VE´RITABLE FONDATEUR DU CULTE DE LA ROYAUTE´ DIVINE AU CAMBODGE

Le culte khmèr de la royauté divine, que l'on a mis en rapport avec la construction des grands monuments en forme de pyramide à étages si caractéristiques de l'architecture angkorienne, a fait depuis cinquante ans l'objet de plusieurs études[1], et tout récemment M. J. Filliozat lui a consacré un assez long développement dans une conférence donnée à Phnom Penh "Sur l'esprit de la civilisation khmère".[2]

Après avoir rappelé que l'inscription de Sdok Kak Thom "a mis en lumière l'institution du culte de la divinité appelée en sanskrit *devarāja* et en khmèr *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja*, divinité figurée sous la forme d'un liṅga et plusieurs fois transférée[3] par les rois d'une de leurs capitales à une autre", il dit :

'*Devarāja* signifie normalement en sanskrit 'roi des dieux' et désigne Indra qui régit, comme nous le savons, l'assemblée divine gardienne de l'ordre du monde. D'autres interprétations ont été tentées cependant de ce même nom, lorsqu'on le trouve dans les inscriptions sanskrites du Cambodge, et la plupart du temps, il a été admis qu'il devait signifier 'dieu-roi' et désigner, non Indra, mais un liṅga contenant l'essence de la souveraineté exercée par le roi l'ayant fait consacrer ou le possédant. En effet, l'expression khmère *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* peut se traduire par 'le dieu qui est roi', car *kamrateṅ jagat* équivaut à "dieu". Elle se retrouve ailleurs, à Koh Ker, sous la forme *kamrateṅ jagat ta rājya* 'le dieu qui est la royauté'. Cette interprétation répond en effet parfaitement à la notion bien établie dans l'esprit de la civilisation khmère du caractère divin de la royauté, mais il resterait difficile de croire que dans un texte sanskrit le nom de *devarāja* ne désigne pas Indra en tant que roi des dieux. Ceci serait d'autant plus difficile à admettre que le culte du *devarāja* en question a été institué par Jayavarman II en 802 sue le Phnom Kulên appelé alors Mahendraparvata, c'est à dire précisément la 'Montagne du grand Indra'. D'ailleurs Jayavarman II avait déjà consacré à Indra deux ville, Indrapura et Amarendrapura, la 'ville du chef des Immortels', autre nom du 'roi des dieux'.

L' argumentation de M. J. Filliozat se fonde sur le sens du mot sanskrit *devarāja* qui signifie normalement "roi des dieux" (encore que le sens de "roi-dieu", le roi qui est dieu, reste grammaticalement possible), et sur les conceptions en cours à l'époque de Jayavarman II.

Son argumentation serait beaucoup plus solide si les expressions *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* et devarāja dataient effectivement du règne de Jayavarman II. Or, il n'en est rien : *kamrateṅ* (*añ*) *jagat ta rājya* (et non *rāja*) est attesté pour la première fois à

Koh Ker, dans une inscription de 921 ; quant à *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* et *devarāja*, on ne rencontre ces expressions que dans la seule inscription de Sdok Kak Thom qui date de 1052[4]. Et precisément dans cette inscription, l'expression *devarāja* n'a aucunement le sens de "roi des dieux", c'est à dire Indra[5] ; c'est le nom que porte l'objet d'un rite magique (*siddhi*) nommé dans le texte khmèr *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* qui, lui non plus, n'a pas le sens de "roi des dieux".

Que dit exactement l'inscription de Sdok Kak Thom[6] ? Elle dit qu' après être revenu de Java et avoir résidé dans diverses localités, Jayavarman II alla s'installer sur le Mahendraparvata. Là, le brahmane Hiraṇyadāma accomplit sur son invitation une cérémonie destinée à libérer le Cambodge de sa vassalité à l'égard de Java et à rendre possible l'existence d'un "maître de la surface inférieure" absolument unique qui fût *cakravartin*. Jayavarman II chargea ensuite le brahmane Çivakaivalya d'accomplir les rites concernant le *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* "le Seigneur de l'Univers qui est le roi", et accorda à sa descendance le privilège d'officier devant lui. Puis le roi redescendit dans sa résidence de Hariharālaya (Roluos). Le *krmrateṅ jagat ta rāja* y fut ramené aussi, et dorénavant les divers *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja*, en quelque ville que les rois s'en allassent, y furent conduits aussi comme gardiens du *rājya* des souverains successifs.

Voilà ce que dit l'inscription de Sdok Kak Thom qui est la source à peu près unique des connaissances concernant le culte de la royauté divine au Cambodge. Mais le témoignage de ce texte qui date de 1052, soit deux siècles et demi après la soi-disant institution par Jayavarman II d'un rituel concernant le culte de la royauté divine, ce témoignage est suspect. Il émane d'un membre de la famille sacerdotale consacrée au nouveau culte, et il ne faut pas oublier que, dans l'épigràphie angkorienne, nombreuses sont les généalogies et nombreux sont les titres de propriété qui prétendent remonter au règne de Jayavarman II, comparable en cela à ce qu'est pour la noblesse française "l'époque des Croisades", ou pour l'aristocratie anglaise "la bataille d'Agincourt".

Que Jayavarman II se soit effectivement installé pendant un temps sur le Phnom Kulên, c'est ce que les inscriptions de toutes époques ne se lassent pas de répéter. Qu'il y fait célébrer une cérémonie destinée à libérer le Cambodge d'une certaine vassalité à l'égard de Java et à conférer à son roi la qualité de *cakravartin*, il y a d'autant moins de raison d'en douter que, dans l'Asie du Sud-Est, les entreprises d'unification et d'hégémonie, telles que celle de Jayavarman II, s'accompagnaient régulièrement de l'établissement sur une montagne naturelle ou artificielle du culte d'une divinité étroitement associée à la personne royale, transcendant les cultes locaux, symbolisant l'unité du royaume, et doublant sur le plan religieux une action politique. Ce qu'il est permis de mettre en doute, c'est que dès le début du IXme siècle, le liṅga royal aie été qualifié de *devarāja* et de *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja*. Il est absolument certain en effet que ces deux expressions, avec les conceptions qu'elles impliquent concernant le caractère de la divinité installée sur le Phnom Kulên, se trouvent au plus tôt dans l'inscription de 1052. Elles ne sauraient être, en bonne méthode, attribuées à Jayavarman II qui régna dans la première moitié du IXme siècle.

Voyons maintenant les faits épigraphiques et archéologiques.

On sait que ni Jayavarman II (802-850), ni son fils Jayavarman III (850-877) n'ont laissé d'inscriptions : du moins n'en a-t-on pas encore trouvé. On est enclin à leur attribuer certains monuments du Phnom Kulên ou du groupe de Rolûos où tous deux séjournèrent. Faut-il leur attribuer aussi les pyramides du Rong Chen sur le Kulên, et d'Ak Yom dans la digue Sud du Baray Occidental ? C'est un problème difficile et controversé que je n'aborderai pas ici.

Par contre, Indravarman qui leur succéda (877-889) a certainement construit en 881 le premier temple-montagne en pierre, la pyramide de Bakong pour le liṅga Indreçvara "l'Īçvara d'Indra(varman) ou qui est Indra(varman)"[7]. On a ici un exemple irréfutable de l'association, ou même de l'identification du roi fondateur au dieu Çiva sous l'aspect du liṅga.

Il n'y a pas là d'innovation. L'établissement d'un liṅga portant le nom du roi fondateur est attesté dès le IVme siècle au Champa, avec le liṅga Bhadreçvara consacré par le roi Bhadravarman. Au Cambodge préangkorien, on a les mentions d'un Bhaveçvara[8] et d'un Īçāneçvara[9] qui sont peut-être respectivement les liṅga érigés par les rois Bhavavarman et Īçānavarman. Un autre exemple, absolument certain celui-là, est le liṅga Puṣkareça, installé par le roi Puṣkarākṣa en 716[10].

Après Indravarman, son fils Yaçovarman (889-900) a construit dans les dernières années du IXme siècle la pyramide qui couronne la colline du Phnom Bakhêng, au centre de sa capitale Yaçodharapura. Le liṅga central y portait le nom de Yaçodhareçvara, forme avec le nom du roi fondateur[11].

On voit que pour le premier siècle de la période angkorienne, l'épigraphie contemporaine est muette sur l'instauration d'un culte nouveau et que l'archéologie se borne à révéler l'existence de liṅga étroitement associés par leur nom au roi fondateur, et ne différant des liṅga royaux du Champa et du Cambodge préangkorien que par leur installation dans un temple prestigieux, rappelant par son parti en pyramide à étages l'aspect d'une montagne.[12]

Avec Jayavarman IV (921-941) tout change, et l'on se trouve en présence d'un liṅga royal ne portant pas le nom du roi fondateur, et installé sur une pyramide qui diffère des précédentes par sa plus grande hauteur, par sa nudité et par son isolement dans une cour où il n'y a qu'elle.

Cette fondation, qui comporta l'érection, à une hauteur de neuf fois neuf coudées, d'un liṅga de Çiva extrêmement lourd, fut considérée à l'époque, et encore au règne suivant, comme un exploit extraordinaire[13]. Par ailleurs, une inscription de 948 dit que "Jayavarman fonda une ville qui, par son ampleur, fut le siège de la puissance des Çrī des trois mondes (*çriyāṃ vibhūtyā bhuvanatrasaya sthānam*)"[14]. Outre une allusion possible à l'ampleur (*mahimnā*) de la capitale fondée par Jayavarman IV, impliquant évidemment les vastes dimensions des édifices du site archéologique de Koh Ker, ce texte évoque le nom de cet énorme liṅga placé par le roi au sommet de son temple-montagne : *bhuvanatraya* est une allusion manifeste à Tribhuvaneçvara mentionné dans l'inscription du gopura oriental de l'enceinte intérieure du groupe d'édifices précédant à l'est l'enceinte de la pyramide.[15] Dans les inscriptions khmères,[16] ce liṅga est nommé soit *vraḥ kamrateṅ añ ta rājya* "Monseigneur qui est le *rājya*", soit *vraḥ kamrateṅ jagat ta rājya* "Seigneur de l'Univers qui est le *rājya*", soit encore *vraḥ kamrateṅ añ jagat ta rājya* "Monseigneur (maître) de l'Univers qui est le *rājya*". Il semble qu'on doive poser l'equivalence :

vraḥ kamrateṅ (*añ*) = *īçvara*
jagat = *tribhuvana*

Quant à *ta rājya*, cette expression précise que le dieu se confond non pas avec le roi Jayavarman, mais avec le *rājya* "royauté, royaume ou règne", en tout cas avec une abstraction qui transcende la personne royale. Ainsi donc, ce n'est pas un Jayeçvara que Jayavarman IV érigea dans sa nouvelle capitale, c'est un Tribhuvaneçvara associé, identifié au *rājya*.

Par rapport aux fondations d'Indravarman à Bakong et de Yaçovarman au Phnom Bakhêng, il y a là une innovation certaine. A cette innovation dans le culte du liṅga royal correspond, dans l'architecture du temple-montagne, une innovation consistant à dissocier de la pyramide les accessoires qui l'accompagnaient précédemment et qui réapparaîtront une dernière fois au régne suivant, soit : huit tours destinées aux huit *mūrti* de Çiva et douze tourelles dont la signification n'est pas encore définitivement éclaircie'[17]

Qu'est-il advenu, après le règne de Jayavarman IV, des expressions *kamrateṅ* (*añ*) *jagat ta rājya* et *kamrateṅ jagat* apparues pour la première fois à Koh Ker ?

Kamrateṅ añ ta rājya (sans *jagat*) se rencontre deux fois sous le règne de Jayavarman V : en 980, dans une inscription qui émane de la famille ou de la descendance spirituelle du brahmane appelé par Jayavarman II pour instituer un nouveau culte sur le mont Mahendra, le *kamrateṅ añ ta rājya* est nommé comme bénéficiaire de diverses donations, sans que sa résidence soit précisée ;[18] dans une autre inscription qui date au plus tôt de 974 et au plus tard de 987, le *vraḥ kamrateṅ añ ta rājya* est mentionné comme bénéficiaire d'une prestation quotidienne de paddy, sans autre indication.[19] L'omission du mot *jagat* dans les deux cas est-elle voulue, et implique-t-elle le rejet de cette notion d'universalité exprimée par le nom de Tribhuvaneçvara ? On ne saurait le dire. Ce qui est remarquable, cést le caractèere abstrait de la divinité ainsi désignée : ce n'est pas le *rāja* qui est dieu, c'est le *rājya*. En 1001, le *kamrateṅ jagat Çambhupura* est nommé dans une inscription du groupe de Sambor sur le Mékong.[20]

On voit qu'après le règne de Jayavarman IV qui a "lancé" l'expression *vraḥ kamrateṅ (añ) jāgat ta rājya*, et jusqu'à la fin du Xme siècle, le *rājya* ayant peut-être perdu son caractère d'universalité n'est plus appelé que *kamrateṅ añ* "Monseigneur". Une autre expression *kamrateṅ jagat*, manifestement issue de *kamrateṅ añ jagat*, entre dans l'usage dès 1001 avec le sens très particulier de "dieu local". Jusqu'à la fin de l'ère épigraphique, *vraḥ kamrateṅ añ* restera préfixé aux noms des divinités du panthéon indien (ainsi qu'au nom des rois et des hauts dignitaires), tandis que *kamrateṅ jagat*, qui n'est jamais précédé de *vraḥ*, sera préfixé aux noms de dieux locaux, de statues funéraires ou personnelles, sous l'aspect desquelles un dieu indien (ou le bodhisattva Lokeçvara) est personnalisé et identifié à un personnage défunt, ou même encore vivant.[21]

En nommant son liṅga Tribhuvaneçvara et non pas Jayeçvara, et en précisant dans le nom khmèr que ce liṅga s'identifiait à une abstraction, le *rājya*, Jayavarman IV avait certainement dans l'esprit une nouvelle conception de la nature du liṅga royal érigé au sommet du temple-montagne. Ce liṅga n'était plus identifié, par le truchement de son nom, à la personne du roi fondateur : ce n'est pas l'Īçvara de Jaya(varman) ou qui est Jaya(varman). Le Tribhuvaneçvara de Jayavarman IV s'identifie au *rājya* de son fondateur. Cette nouvelle conception, que les témoignages concordants de l'épigraphie et de l'archéologie conduisent à attribuer à Jayavarman IV, dépassait le but que s'était assigné Jayavarman II en faisant célébrer sur le Phnom Kulên par le brahmane Hiraṇyadāma une cérémonie destinée, dit l'inscription de 1052, "à rendre possible l'existence d'un maître sur la terre absolument unique qui fût un *cakravartin*". L'ambition de Jayavarman II au début du IXme siècle était simplement de devenir sur terre une empereur. Jayavarman IV, un siècle plus tard, semble viser plus haut : sa fondation du liṅga Tribhuvaneçvara, "Seigneur des trois mondes" qui est le *rājya*, doit lui assurer une sorte de souveraineté cosmique, identifiant la royauté khmère à la maîtrise des trois mondes qui constituent l'Univers.

Ce en quoi l'inscription de 1052 nous trompe, c'est qu'elle attribue au règne de Jayavarman II l'emploi de l'expression *kamrateṅ jagat* "Seigneur de l'Univers", pour qualifier le liṅga royal, le liṅga "qui est le roi", alors que cette expression est une création de Jayavarman IV pour rendre en khmèr le nom du linga Tribhuvaneçvara, qui est non plus le roi, mais le *rājya*.

Qu'advint-il après Jayavarman IV, et le règne très court de son fils Harṣavarman II (941-944), de cette nouvelle conception du liṅga royal érigé au sommet d'un temple-montagne ?

Rājendravarman (944-968), dont le souci constant semble avoir été de renouer avec la tradition de son oncle Yaçovarman, commença par construire en

952 la pyramide peu élévée du Mébon Oriental, avec les huit tours traditionnelles des *mūrti* de Çiva disposées sur le deuxième gradin. Sur le gradin supérteur, il installa le liṅga Rājendreçvara,[22] dont le nom est formé comme ceux de l'Indreçvara d'Indravarman et du Yaçodhareçvara de Yaçovarman, et il plaça alentour, dans les quatre autres tours du quinconce, les images de ses parents. Un peu plus tard, en 961, Rājendravarman fit édifier un nouveau temple-montagne, la pyramide de Prè Rup, avec les douze tourelles traditionnelles disposées sur le premier gradin. Sur le gradin supérieur, il érigea, outre les images d'autres ancêtres et la sienne propre, le liṅga Rājendrabhadreçvara,[23] en lequel il s'identifiait à une manifestation particulière de Çiva, à ce Bhadreçvara qui avait été le dieu des Kambuja, adoré à Vat Ph'u dès avant la conquête du Fou-nan.

Rājendravarman semble donc avoir rejeté l'identification du liṅga royal à une abstraction, pour en revenir à l'association du liṅga à la personne du roi fondateur. Il y a là manifestement le souci d'un retour à un état de choses antérieur, et le désir de rejeter la conception abstraite et cosmique de Jayavarman IV, traduite en architecture par une pyramide colossale et dépouillée.

Jayavarman V (968-1001) et Sūryavarman Ier (1002-1050) ont construit, eux aussi, leurs temples-montagnes ; Ta Kèv resté inachevé et le Phimeanakas au centre du Palais Royal. Aucune inscription ne fait connaître les noms des liṅga qui y étaient installés. Alors que Rājendravarman avait placé au Mébon Oriental son Rājendreçvara, il n'y a aucune mention dans l'épigraphie d'un Jayeçvara fondé par Jayavarman V, ni d'un Sūryeçvara fondé par Sūryavarman Ier. On sait seulement que la pyramide de Ta Kèv s'appelait *Hema(çṛṅga)giri*,[24] qui est une désignation courante du Meru, la montagne d'or. Le Baphuon d'Udayādityavarman II était, lui aussi, une réplique du Meru, construite, dit une inscription,[25] "comme par émulation" par le roi qui avait observé que "au milieu du Jambudvīpa, la demeure des dieux, s'élève la montagne d'or." Le liṅga d'or qui brillait à son sommet dans un temple d'or renfermait le "moi invisible" (*sūkṣmāntarātman*) du roi[26] : c'était bien un liṅga auquel était associé l'essence intime du roi, mais aucun témoignage n'indique qu'il ait porté son nom et se soit appelé Udayādityeçvara.

Tous ces liṅga royaux, d'après l'inscription de 1052 contemporaine de ce dernier règne, portent uniformément le nom de *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* "Seigneur de l'Univers qui est le roi." Cette expression diffère de l'expression originelle "Seigneur de l'Univers qui est le *rājya*" par le fait que le dieu n'est plus une abstraction désignant le *rājya*, mais le roi lui-même. On a l'impression d'en être revenu à la conception des souverains de l'époque préangkorienne et du début de l'époque angkorienne pour qui c'était le roi régnant, la personne royale de tel souverain particulier, qui était associée au liṅga placé, au plus tard à partir du règne d'Indravarman, au sommet d'un temple-montagne. De l'innovation de Jayavarman IV, il subsistera cependant un élément fort important. Le rituel institué par ordre de Jayavarman II sur le Mahendraparvata tendait à faire du roi un empereur *cakravartin*. Jayavarman IV, plus ambitieux, vise la souveraineté des trois mondes. Après le règne traditionaliste, je dirais presque réactionnaire, de Rājendravarman qui, comme les souverains d'avant Jayavarman IV, donne son nom aux liṅga du Mébon Oriental et de Prè Rup, aucun de ses successeurs ne semble avoir continué cette tradition. De l'innovation de Jayavarman IV ils conservent dans une certaine mesure le caractère abstrait que celui-ci avait donné au culte du liṅga royal. Ce n'est plus la personne du souverain qui s'identfie à l'Īçvara représenté par le liṅga. Le liṅga royal n'est plus un Indreçvara, un Yaçodhareçvara, un Rājendreçvara, c'est Tribhuvaneçvara, le "Seigneur de l'Univers qui est le roi", non pas tel roi, mais le Roi en tant que tel : c'est la spécification dans chaque règne du roi en soi, type éternel dont les souverains qui se succèdent sur le trône ne sont que des personnifications successives et temporaires.

C'est Jayavarman IV qui, en donnant au culte du liṅga royal le caractère d'un culte du *rājya*, non plus personnifié par tel souverain particulier, mais abstrait, fraya la voie à ce culte du *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* ou du *devarāja* dont parle l'inscription de Sdok Kak Thom de 1052. C'est à ce titre qu'on peut le considérer comme le véritable fondateur au Cambodge du culte de la royauté divine. Peut-être est-ce pour donner à ce culte encore plus de prestige, et lui attribuer une antiquité et surtout une légitimité que ne pouvait lui conférer Jayavarman IV, devenu roi dans des conditions peu régulières, que la famille des officiants du *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* en reporta en bloc l'instauration au règne de Jayavarman II, le glorieux et tant soit peu légendaire souverain "qui établit sa résidence sur le mont Mahendra."

G. Cœdès

THE REAL FOUNDER OF THE CULT OF DIVINE ROYALTY IN CAMBODIA

(English synopsis by Alexander B. Griswold)

The Khmer cult of divine royalty, to which the greatest monuments of Angkorian architecture were dedicated, is generally said to have been founded by Jayavarman II in 802. The Sdok Kak Thom inscription, dated in 1052, tells us that that monarch, after returning from Java, resided in several places and then proceeded to Mount Mahendra (Phnom Kulên, north of the plain of Angkor). There a magic rite was performed to free him from the ties of vassalage to Java, and to make him the sole world-emperor or *cakravartin*. The inscription goes on to relate the founding of a liṅga, which was given the Khmer title *kamrateṇ jagat ta rāja*, "the lord of the universe who is the King," and the Sanskrit title *devarāja*. Later the King returned to his residence at Hariharālaya (Roluos, S. E. of Siem Reap), taking the *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* with him ; and henceforth, in whatever capital the succeeding kings adopted, they were to take their own *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* with them as guardians of their *rājya*.

There is no reason to doubt that Jayavarman II went through a ceremony on the mountain-top to make him a *cakravartin*, as is stated in numerous other inscriptions ; and indeed in ceremonies of unification and hegemony it was a regular procedure to establish on a natural or artificial mountain the cult of a divinity closely associated with the royal person. It may well be doubted, however, that the terms *devarāja* and *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja*, which are attested only in the inscription of 1052, were applied to the royal liṅga 250 years earlier.

There are no known inscriptions of Jayavarman II (802-850) or of his son Jayavarman III (850-877), and it is not clear what monuments should be attributed to them. But it is known for certain that the next king, Indravarman (877-889), built the Bakong pyramid—the first stone temple-mountain—to receive the liṅga Indreśvara, "the Īśvara of Indra (varman)" or "the Īśvara that is Indra (varman)." Yaśovarman (889-900) built the pyramid of Phnom Bakhèng, in which the central liṅga bore the name of Yaśodhareśvara. By compounding their own names with that of the god, these monarchs magically identified themselves with Śiva in the form of a liṅga. In so doing they were following a practice attested as early as the 4th century in Champa, and several times in pre-Angkorian Cambodia. Thus in the first century of the Angkorian period the only novelty in the cult of the royal liṅgas, whose names are intimately associated with the names of their founders, is their installation in temples on the tops of pyramids in the form of mountains ; epigraphy records no inauguration of a new cult.

With Jayavarman IV (921-841) a marked change took place. In his new capital at Koh Ker, that monarch built a huge temple-mountain which, unlike those of his predecessors, bore no subsidiary shrines, for the eight *mūrtis* of Śiva, but only a central shrine containing an enormous Śivaliṅga. A Sanskrit inscription alludes to this liṅga as *Tribhuvaneśvara*, "lord of the three worlds," while the Khmer inscriptions refer to it as *vraḥ kamrateṅ añ ta rājya*, "his lordship who is *rājya*," or as *vraḥ kamrateṅ jagat ta rājya*, "lord of the universe who is *rājya*," or again as *vraḥ kamrateṅ añ jagat ta rājya*, "his lordship (the master) of the universe, who is *rājya*." Evidently *īśvara* is equivalent to *vraḥ kamrateṅ* (*añ*), and *tribhuvana* to *jagat*. The term *ta rājya* (not *rāja*) shows that the god is identified not with the king, but with *rājya*, "royalty, kingdom, or reign." Jayavarman IV's ambition was more grandiose than that of his predecessors. Instead of designating the liṅga with a compound of his own name, such as Jayeśvara, in order to become a world-emperor, he named it Tribhuvaneśvara in order to gain command of the entire universe ; and instead of seeking this advantage for himself alone, he sought it for the Khmer kingship as an abstraction transcending the royal person.

After a temporary reversion to the earlier practice by Rājendravarman (944-968), Jayavarman IV's innovation was continued in modified form. The liṅgas founded by Jayavarman V (968-1001), Sūryavarman I (1002-1050), and Udayādityavarman II (1052-1066) appear not to have had designations compounded with their own names ; all of them, according to the inscription of 1052, were named *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja*, "lord of the universe who is the king." The formula is no less abstract than Jayavarman IV's ; and though the god is now *rāja* rather than *rājya*, he is not the king as an individual, but the king as an eternal type, of which the monarch who happened to be reigning at any particular time was only a temporary personification.

Jayavarman IV, by changing the cult of the royal liṅga from a cult of the king's own person into a cult of the *rājya*, opened the way for that cult of the *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* or *devarāja* which is described in the Sdok Kak Thom inscription of 1052. In this sense he was the real founder of the cult of divine royalty in Cambodia.

The inscription of 1052 is deceptive in attributing to Jayavarman II the use of the expression *kamrateṅ jagat*. "lord of the universe," to describe the royal liṅga "which is the king." This expression was created by Jayavarman IV to translate into Khmer the name of the liṅga Tribhuvaneśvara which was no longer merely the king, but the *rājya*. But that monarch had succeeded to the throne by irregular means. The authors of the inscription might very well wish to give the cult an atmosphere of greater antiquity and greater legitimacy than his name could confer, and attribute its origin to Jayavarman II, the glorious and somewhat legendary monarch "who established his residence on Mount Mahendra."

NOTES

1. L. Finot. *Sur quelques traditions indochinoises*, Mél. Sylvain Lévi, p. 191.
   G. Cœdès. *L'apothéose au Cambodge*, Bull. Comm. arch. Indochine, 1911, p. 38.
   Ph. Stern. *Le temple-montagne khmèr, le culte du liṅga et le Devarāja*, BEFEO, XXXIV, p. 611.
   Au Chhieng et G. Cœdès, Discussion dans Journal Asiatique, CCXXXVII, 1948-1949, suppl. p. 65-66.
   G. Cœdès. *Le culte de la royauté divinisée, source d'inspiration des grands monuments khmèrs*, Conferenze (Serie orientale, Roma V), 1952, p. 1.
   J. Filliozat. *Le symbolisme du monument du Phnom Bakheng*, BEFEO, XLIV, p. 527.
2. Dans *Cambodge d'aujourd'hui*, janvier 1960, p. 21.
3. J'ai déjā montré (*Le culte de la royauté divinisée*, loc. cit.) que l'idée d'un liṅga unique, transféré de capitale en capitale, reposait sur une interprétation inexacte de la stèle de Sdok Kak Thom dont le texte (face C, 11. 80-82) ne signifie pas, comme on l'a cru, que le liṅga nommé *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* "résida dans toute capitale où les rois le conduisirent", mais ; "quelle que soit la capitale où les rois sont allés résider, les divers *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* y ont été amenés aussi".
4. Mise ā part une unique mention dansune inscription une du Bayon du début du XIII Siècle (BEFEO, XXVIII, p. 105)
5. Au lieu de traduire *siddhīr vahantīḥ kila devarājābhikhyāṃ vidadhre* par "il établit les rites magiques (*siddhi*) portant le nom de *devarāja*", comme je l'ai fait (BEFEO, XLIII, p. 96) à la suite de L. Finot (BEFEO, XV, 2, p. 80), on pourrait à la rigueur traduire "les rites procurant le nom de roi des dieux", et rejoindre par ce biais l'interprétation de M. J. Filliozat. Mais alors, deux difficultés se présentent. D'abord, le texte ne dit pas à qui est conféré ce nom de *devarāja* : est-ce au roi ? ou à la divinité à qui, suivant les stances 61 et 63 l'officiant adresse *l'arcā* ? Ensuite, dans cette inscription qui, sans être à proprement paler bilingue, donne cependant en sanskrit et en khmèr deux textes parallèles, le mot sanskrit *devarāja* a pour équivalent certain l'expression khmére *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* qui ne peut absolument pas être traduite par "roi des dieux", mais seulement par "maître de l'univers qui est le roi." La possibilité que *devarāja* soit une traduction sanskrite de l'expression khmère ne saurait être exclue, l'équivalence *kamrateṅ*=*deva* étant bien attestée dans l'épigraphie.
6. Publiée BEFEO, XLIII, p. 57 et R. C. Majumdar, *Inscr. of Kambuja*, p. 362.

7. G. Cœdès, *Inscr. du Cambodge.* I. p. 34.—R. C. Majumdar, *loc. cit.*, p. 66.
8. G. Cœdès, *Ibid.*, V. p. 61 et V. p. 295.
9. Journal Asiatique, CCXLVI, 1958, p. 131.
10. BEFEO, IV, p. 676.—R. C. Majumdar, *loc. cit.*, p. 55.
11. BEFEO, XI, p. 396.—R. C. Majumdar, *loc. cit.*, p. 279.
12. Il n'est pas douteux que la pyramide à gradins ne soit la représentation symbolique d'une montagne : la figuration, sur un tympan de Banteay Srei, du Kailāsa sous l'aspect d'une pyramide à degrés suffirait à le prouver. (cf. Ph. Stern, BEFEO, XXXIV, p. 611). Une confirmation supplémentaire est fournie par l'épigraphie qui désigne les temples-montagnes par le mot Meru et par l'expression khmère *vraḥ vnaṃ* "sainte montagne."
13. G. Cœdès, *loc. cit*, I, p. 69.
14. Ibid., IV, p. 99, st. XXXV.—R. C. Majumdar, *loc. cit.*, p. 191.
15. BEFEO, XXXI, p. 13.
16. G. Cœdès, *loc. cit.* I, p. 48-50.
17. Sur cette question, v. G. Cœdès, *Le rôle de la pyramide de Koh Ker dans l'évolution du temple-montagne khmèr*, Paranavitana Felicitation Volume.
18. BEFEO, XLIII, p. 10.
19. G. Cœdès, *Inscr. du Cambodge*, VI, p. 175.
20. BEFEO, XXVIII. p. 142.—R. C. Majumdar, *loc. cit.*, p. 309.
21. G. Cœdès, *Kamrateṅ añ* et *Kamrateṅ jagat*, Jubilee vol. of the Adyar Library Bull.
22. BEFEO, XXV, p. 352 (st. 218).—R. C. Majumdar, *loc. cit.*, p. 119.
23. G. Cœdès, *Inscr. du Cambodge*, p. 140 (st. 277).—R. C. Majumdar. *loc. cit.*, p. 265.
24. BEFEO, XXXIV, p. 420.
25. A. Barth. *Inscr. sansk. du Cambodge.* P. 139. (st. B 23).—R. C. Majumdar, *loc. cit.*, P. 424 (st. 50).
26. A Barth, *loc. cit.* PP. 157. 172 (st. D 27).—R. C. Majumdar. *loc. cit.*, P. 398 (st. 159).

C. Hooykaas

THE TREASURES OF BALI

Here it will not be necessary to recall to mind that the Philippine Islands, Malaya and Indonesia have undergone Hindu influence since the first centuries of the Christian era, and it will be well known that Java has conserved its monuments and inscriptions, whereas adjacent Bali with its Hindu-Balinese religion is a storehouse of Hindu-Javanese or Old-Javanese Culture. Less generally known is the process of transition to Islam in Java and that of the borrowing of Indo-Javanese Culture by adjacent Bali. On the one hand only a few years ago the French scholar L.-Ch. Damais in a very meticulous piece of research has proved that as early as during the flourishing period of the East-Javanese kingdom of Majapahit, prominent inhabitants of the capital were buried in the Muslim fashion ; so they practised their *agama Islam* by the middle of the XIV.C. On the other hand rather voluminous treatises on pre-Islamic, Indo-Javanese religious organisations, institutions, etc. in Java as the **Tantu Panggĕlaran** and the **Koravāśrama** should be regarded as dating from the XVI. if not even begin-XVII.C. The change over of religion, i.e. culture, in Java must have taken centuries, and it is no exaggeration to state that this process is still far from completed in the eyes of orthodox Muslimin. So for instance the ordinary Muslim population of Java still maintains its Hindu mythology in part of its literature and in its shadowplay. For nearly half a century the powerful organisation Muhammadiyah has tried to purify Islam and has achieved some measure of success, but at the same time voices in favour of maintaining the *kajavèn*, the inherited Javanese way of life, Javanese syncretism make themselves heard louder and louder.

As to Bali, even in the fifth edition of a handbook dealing with the geography of South East Asia we find the tale how Javanese fugitives from the scimitar of advancing Mussalmans would have fled to the East, crossed over to Bali and have transplanted their religion and literature there. I think it is not necessary ever to have witnessed the panic, misery and exhaustion of fugitives to realise how utterly absurd such a phantastic picture is bound to be. The simple and well-established facts are that the Javanese and Balinese royal families intermarried as early as about the year 1000 A.D., that Bali more than once has been conquered by the Javanese, and above all that the Balinese during centuries avidly have absorbed Indo-Javanese Culture.

That—apart from the Old-Javanese mausolea, the so-called *chandis*—Indo-Javanese culture could best be studied in Bali, was known to Raffles as early as a century and a half ago when he wrote his 'History of Java'. More than a century ago the German Sanskritist Dr. R. Friederich was so vividly interested in the Old-Javanese aspect of Hindu culture that by all means he wished to go to the East and to study his subject *in situ.* He followed the example given by the Frenchman Anquetil du Perron, who had wished to study in its own country that which in his later book he called 'Oupanékhat' and who had enlisted in the French colonial (Indian) army. In the same way Dr. Friederich enlisted in the Dutch East-Indian army ; arriving in the capital, then called Batavia, he was fortunate enough to find there the oldest South-East-Asian Learned Society, the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Society of Arts & Sciences). This took him over from the Army, appointed him as an assistant-librarian and sent him to Bali.

There he found and subsequently printed the **Vṛtta-sañcaya**, an Old-Javanese poem on metrics, consisting of nearly a hundred stanzas composed in as many different Indian metres ; it took several decades before a critical edition cum translation were published by H. Kern. He obtained another *kakavin* (derived from *kavi*, poet ; so it means : *kāvya*) called **Bhauma-kāvya**, and it took nearly a century before A. Teeuw produced a translation and commentary to this second-lengthiest Old-Javanese poem. Friederich moreover wrote a 'Voorloopig Verslag' (Provisional Report) on his findings in Bali, which was translated into English in 1887 and which was reprinted in India in 1959, perhaps as a classic, or perhaps by mistake. For Friederich's was not the last word in the cultural research done in Bali.

When in 1934 simultaneously R. C. Majumdar writes his paper on 'Indo-Javanese Literature' and H. B. Sarkar his book on 'Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali', both are based on the work done in Bali by D.H.N. van der Tuuk during the last quarter of the XIX.C. Unfortunately there have been decades in the Dutch East Indies during which the slogan 'No *kavi* but coffee' was the word of highest wisdom to be heard from the Governor-General's throne, but now a scholar of standing repute was invited to study the Kavi language as it was still known in Bali. In those days only the Northern coastal strip had been brought under Dutch control ; one could travel in the rest of the island, but for a long-winded stay the northern kingdom called Bulèlèng seemed more advisable. There Van der Tuuk collected a real treasure of MSS : Old-Javanese, Middle-Javanese, Balinese and Sasak (the language of adjacent Lombok, during a century and a half preceding Van der Tuuk's death in 1894 ruled by the Balinese, and before that time under rather strong Muslim-Javanese influence). Dr. J. Brandes, then keeper of the MSS at the Museum of Batavia, the discoverer of the famous **Nāgarakṛtāgama** and editor of the **Pararaton,** after Van der Tuuk's death, took great care in shipping his MSS to Batavia. Here he supervised their provisional description by his assistants ; they copied the beginning and the colophon of each MS, and in the case of poems the initial verse of each new canto ; the results were published in four quarto volumes. He then sent the MSS to the library of the University of Leiden, to which Van der Tuuk had bequeathed them. Here this collection and some minor ones have been described by Dr. H.H. Juynboll in three volumes, in which more attention could be paid to the contents. From these descriptions of raw materials, in Dutch, R. C. Majumdar deducted a clear description of main facts, enriched by many details and useful references to that.

The results of half a century of studies in the field of Indo-Javanese culture—apart from the study of the *chandis* and epigraphic materials in Java itself—to a great extent are due to Van der Tuuk's four-volume, 7250-column 'Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek' and the catalogues of MSS collected in Bali, made by Brandes and Juynboll, for these works enabled scholars to make a choice and focus their attention to the most promising MSS on the fields towards which they felt most attracted.

The XX.C. offers new problems, new solutions and new possibilities. In the 'nineties of the XIX.C. a report about the independent Interior of Bali in passing dealt with atrocities towards some members of the Chinese minority, but a quarter of a century later tourism in Bali had reached such a development that in Government circles concern for Bali's remarkable culture was felt. Sale of palmleaf MSS to tourists had been stated and there was an uneasy feeling that this loss might lead to cultural decay. Local Government then took steps of important consequence. It was not satisfied by suggesting to the Central Government the passing of a law forbidding to export cultural treasures dating back from more than a few decades. It took above all the positive step of making a foundation for the preservation of MSS found in Bali and Lombok. The ten subdivisions of this administrative unit each contributed a share of £ 500, the Central Government added another £ 5,000 (from the proceeds of the lotteries !) and these £ 10,000 formed the basic endowment of the Foundation called Kirtya and comparable to a *waqf* in Muslim countries. The initial name was Kirtya Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk ; Liefrinck was the civil servant who by his agronomical research had so largely contributed to our knowledge of Balinese society. At the moment it is called Gĕdong (building in masonry) Kirtya (Singaradja).

The remarkable thing about this Kirtya is that it collected its treasure not by way of purchase but by copying in the courtyard and under the eyes of the owners of the MSS. In that way no MS could possibly get lost and nobody needed to worry about his possessions ; from a certain point of view we might say that this method added to the Balinese treasure of MSS. From now (1928) onwards a steadily increasing number of MSS (recently the number of 2400 was passed) was publicly available at the island's capital, weekly during 40 hours. Everybody was free to enter the library's building and to make his own copy, and the Kirtya itself was liberal in making copies for those who were prevented from doing so themselves.

Van der Tuuk in his days may have had a scribe and may have had copyists ad hoc, but the Kirtya's staff of half a dozen professional copyists outnumbered his assistants. He collected MSS in Bulèlèng only, whereas the Kirtya staff could travel over the ten subdivisions of Bali and Lombok. For Van der Tuuk the MSS were after all only the means, the mine of materials for his big dictionary, whereas for the Kirtya the MSS were the end. In more than one respect Van der Tuuk was isolated, whereas the Kirtya had its Indonesian 'consuls', called curator, in each of the ten subdivisions ; they were always influential men, often brahmins of high standing. Van der Tuuk certainly had the benefit of the work done during a few months' time by his predecessor Dr. Friederich, but the Kirtya was based upon Dr. Van der Tuuk's long stay, his four-volume dictionary, the seven volumes with descriptions of his MSS by Brandes and Juynboll and all work done in the meantime.

Pure coincidence appears to have helped the Kirtya considerably. The year of its foundation, 1928, is notable for the visit to Bali by Sylvain Lévi, who collected there the materials for his book 'Sanskrit Texts from Bali'. How did he manage to collect his MSS in only a few weeks' time ? The brahmin priests, *padandas,* of highest social standing and repute of learnedness, from Bali's seven subdivisions, day after day, were invited and transported to the spacious Bali-Museum at Denpasar. There Sylvain Lévi recited Sanskrit *stutis* and *mantras* from India, part of which was congenial to them and part of which they hitherto had kept to themselves as being the effective tools with which they operated. Hearing that a foreigner also knew them, they became more communicative. And as they were aware that some of their *ślokas* sounded differently and had become the subject of some uncertainty, they submitted copies to him in the hope of obtaining elucidation. Now the curators of the Kirtya either had been present themselves at these meetings or they had heard about them from those present, and to that circumstance I ascribe the considerable number of typical *padanda's* MSS to be found in the earliest list of Kirtya MSS. With Balinese MSS not unfrequently the same title is given to writings of widely different contents, and the same contents may be known under different titles, so that it is a hazardous affair to compare the Brandes and Juynboll catalogues with the Kirtya's lists—but even so we may safely claim that the Kirtya collection has a larger variety of MSS on *padandas'* treatises in general than Van der Tuuk had collected. I am inclined to ascribe this fact to the coincidence of Sylvain Lévi's visit to Bali and the impact it made just upon those circles of brahmin priests from whom the curators of the Kirtya had been selected.

So far, for the moment, about the category 'ritualia', so much better represented in the Kirtya collectanea than in the Leiden ones. To a certain extent it was easy for the Kirtya to decide which categories—more than a score of them are distinguished, according to Balinese principles of division—mostly needed development. So for instance hundreds of folktales, *satva*, were written down for the first time. Not all of them were well-told or well written down, but most of them are delightful, and several are of importance for the student of comparative religion, not to mention the professional folklorist. Popular verses have been collected, closely comparable to the well-known Malay *pantun*, but proverbs have been collected by Dr. Swellengrebel and published by him ; even the Kirtya could not manage to cover the whole field of Balinese literature and folklore.

From the point of view of literary development it might be of some importance to state that a new literary genre has become prosperous since the days of Van der Tuuk. I mean poems called *parikan*, hardly to be found in his collection, but represented by a few dozens in the Kirtya collection. Several Old-Javanese poems, *kakavins*, originally written in Hindu-metres, in the course of this century appear to have been rewritten in literary Balinese language and in modern-Javanese metres. This literary activity does not remain restricted to *kakavins*, now being rejuvenated in shape : the prose extract of the **Ādi-Parva** for instance, and the **Sārasamuccaya**, a collection of more than 500 Sanskrit *ślokas* on ethics, followed by their Old-Javanese paraphrase, are as well reshaped into *parikan*. Even a **Sabhā-Parva-Parikan** emerged, whereas up to the present day no other trace of the **Sabhā-Parva** in the usual shape of an Old-Javanese prose extract has been found.

Or to turn to another field. Van der Tuuk may have collected some *pasvara*, royal edicts, but Liefrinck collected and published some five volumes of them. The Kirtya collected scores of sets of rules for the villages, called *avig-avig*. Now it has gradually become clear that for the right understanding of Balinese society the structure of the villages is at least of as much importance as the royal edicts and contracts. There exists a monograph on a so-called Village Republic, since 1960 also available in English, and there are studies on the dichotomy of the typical Balinese village. It will be evident that for sociologists the Kirtya's collection of *avig-avig* must contain useful materials.

Another field again is the shadow-theatre, *vayang kulit*, in Java and Bali, which to a considerable extent borrows its plots from Indo-Javanese sources. In both islands a performance is still a religious requisite, awkward though this may appear for a Muslim society. In Bali it is a requirement during a temple festival, in Java it is not admitted to the moṣque ! In both islands it enjoys court-favour. Now in Java the *dalangs*, performers of the shadow theatre, who have lost the grasp of Old-Javanese, use Modern-Javanese manuals, *pakĕm*, for their plots. But the Balinese *dalangs* are still able to consult the Old-Javanese prose-extract of the **Ādi-parva**, or an Indo-Javanese *kakavin* like the **Uttara-kāṇḍa** and consequently need no *pakĕms*. Now the Kirtya has induced a *dalang* to write down a dozen example of his performances, in doing this creating a kind of documents hitherto unknown. Moreover it collected half a dozen of so-called **Dharma Pa-Vayang-An**, dealing with the metaphysical background of *vayang* and *dalang*-ship—a formerly unknown subject. Traces of suchlike writings appear to have not yet completely vanished from Java, and here again the collections of the Kirtya prove to be revealing for the study of Java's Hindu past.

One last example of the Kirtya's treasures may be mentioned, not because the subject is exhausted, but because the reader's patience might come to an end. It is a generally known fact that the courts of the Central-Javanese principalities radiated their literary products towards coastal regions and shipping centres in Indonesia, for instance Palembang to the North-West. The Kirtya collections have made evident that the island of Lombok, immediately to the East of Bali, also has undergone a strong Javanese cultural influence.

A list of the initial stock of Kirtya MSS as well as consecutive lists of acquisitions have been published up till 1950. These lists of titles give the number of palmleaves, the category into which the work has been classified, and some very short notes—enough, however, to learn whether for instance the Kirtya has a MS of the **Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa**, and whether the Kirtya's MS deviates from Gonda's critical edition or not. These lists have been written in Dutch and they are out of print ; it is to be deplored that the Kirtya never had a competent man to make a real catalogue nor had the funds to publish one. Though a considerable amount of preparatory work has already been done, it would not be an easy task to finish this undertaking. The more so, as numerous MSS on philosophy and metaphysics make the impression of having more the character of epitomes, extracts, note-books from greater works than of being systematic treatises. One cannot deny the Balinese the right to handle their MSS in the way they think fit, but it makes the task of detailed stock-taking of this treasure distinctly harder.

These last remarks in combination with those concerning the appearance of the modern literary genre of *parikans* suggest that there is a certain amount of *periculum in mora* with the study of Indo-Javanese culture hoarded in Bali. For as soon as the original more lengthy treatises have been split up into a number of scattered notes, and as soon as *kakavins*, *parvas* or other works in Old-Javanese have been rewritten in a less difficult language and in more congenial metres, there exists a real danger that the old-fashioned works will no longer be copied and consequently get lost in the tropical climate.

Apart from the constant, if inadvertent copyists' errors, the anthologising tendency of constituting private note-books and the purposeful re-writing, there are other tendencies at work to baffle the student. Let me give an example from personal experience during my last stay in Bali (October 1958—August '59). A *pamangku*, village or temple priest, in the interior of Bali with whom we were friends, one day showed us the palm leaves in which his **Kusuma-Deva,** manual for his ritual, had been inscribed. Fortunately we knew the **Kusuma-Deva** fairly well, so that it struck us immediately to find here so many instructions for the priest's ritual purity which we had never met before. But our amazement reached a climax when we came across the words *Namo Buddhāya, namo Dharmāya, namo Saṅghāya* ! Though we knew that *pamangkus* use many a *mantra* and a *stava* from the *padanda's* ritual—this formula was completely unexpected and unprecedented. We asked the *pamangku* what it meant, but his answer was very far off the mark ; unfortunately we cannot remember his explanation (He is not to be blamed ; when we asked a Buddhist priest about the formula, he explained to us : *Buddha* = Śiva ; *Dharma* = our manual of daily worship, called **Pūrvaka Veda Buddha** ; *Saṅgha* = we the (17) Buddhist priests). When we asked our *pamangku* about the origin of his **Kusuma-Deva,** he readily told us that it was a copy from a stencilled publication emanating from the central bureau of *agama*-affairs at the capital Denpasar. Subsequently we learned that a Buddhist *padanda* had worked there and had tried to enrich and improve upon the village-priests' ritual by adding to them his own prescriptions for ritual purification and his own *mantras*.

As stated above, such borrowings by *pamangkus* from *padandas* are not essentially new, but very recent (to be exact : post-war) for Bali is the mechanical multiplication of such alterations by way of stencilled pamphlets. In the past corruptions, modifications and enrichments slowly crept from one MS to another ; nowadays the circulation of pamphlets goes with hundreds of copies. On top of that no critical attitude of *pamangkus* versus *padandas* can be expected. In this case we happened to trace the origin of these Buddhistic enrichments ; by now all these stencilled sheets consisting of highly perishable paper will have vanished, and we will only find copies of the **Kusuma-Deva** enriched with Balinese Buddhism and a number of apparently Śaiva-Buddhistic *pamangkus*, forming a stumbling block for students !

If the Kirtya had succeeded in copying all Balinese MSS existent, no harm would be done, at least from the scholarly point of view. This aim, however, has neither been reached nor has it ever been feasible to foster such an ideal : the nearly 2,000,000 Balinese have too many MSS for that. But even if we put our ideals on a more realistic basis we may come across gaps. So for instance in the early thirties Wolfgang Weck, a German medical doctor, helped by an educated Balinese of the lesser nobility, collected all over Bali the materials for his book 'Volkstum und Heilkunde auf Bali'. He borrowed and copied manuals of Balinese *balian*, medicine-men, and managed to mention in his book 256 of them which he had consulted. He must have collected independently from the Kirtya, for though the Foundation in its lists mentions several of his titles, it fails to mention several others. Now the Kirtya collection in this field may be fairly representative, but I would have preferred to see incorporated into the treasure of the Kirtya the same 256 MSS or copies which Weck collected in Bali. It will not be easy to bring together a similar collection of magico-medical treatises.

Two other examples from my own recent experience are perhaps still more concrete, though limited. During my stay in Bali I tried to get evidence concerning the **Buddha-Veda** printed in Sylvain Lévi's 'Sanskrit Texts from Bali,' being according to him the daily ritual of the Buddhist *padanda*. If he had consulted the catalogues of Van der Tuuk's MSS he would have found that **Buddha-Veda** contains his death-ceremonial, *titivah*, the same word as we find for the death ceremonial in Kalimantan/Borneo and which is neither Buddhist in particular nor Hindu in general—but unfortunately and much to the detriment of his whole book Lévi ignored existing collections of MSS. The daily ritual of the Buddhist *padanda* is called **Pūrvaka Veda Buddha**, and the Padanda Gĕdé Bodha of the purely Buddhist village Bodha Kling, Karang-Asĕm, was kind enough to copy it out for me. Now as the Kirtya did not yet have it, I offered it to the Foundation for the making of a copy. The Kirtya, however, felt itself understaffed and returned the MS unused to me.

Or take the ca. 300-line incantation of the exorcist priest who calls himself *ṛṣi bhujangga*. To the best of my knowledge this poem, called **Pūrva Bhūmi Ka-Mūla-n**, dealing with the creation of the universe and the beginning of the world, is not incorporated in the Kirtya's collections. Van der Tuuk obtained one copy consisting of 200 lines only ; Balinese friends in the course of the last years helped me to five more copies, in length varying between 150 and 340 lines. This state of tradition—apart from mistakes in words and letters—is disquieting, in view of what we can safely call an important document of Indo-Javanese religion (language : Old-Javanese).

The facts mentioned above may have made clear which treasures have been collected by the Kirtya and how the lists of acquisitions offer a provisional orientation, but how even the Kirtya has not yet succeeded in rounding off its collections. It might be useful to add here that typewritten copies in Latin script of most Kirtya MSS are to be found in the Bali Museum of Denpasar, in the Museum of Djakarta and in the University Library at Leiden.

Researh, mainly in Bali's political and juridical past, as appears from inscriptions on copperplates, after the war resulted in Dr. R. Goris' two volumes of 'Prasasti', edicts. He has been relieved of this task, which will be continued by his assistants. In Java Dr. J. G. de Casparis published his two volumes of 'Prasasti' but in the end he left Indonesia. The original materials involved here are exclusively to be found in Indonesia, though I would not like to underrate the help in their study which the Kern Institute (Leiden) might be able to give.

Documentation on the Indo-Javanese and the Javano-Balinese past is by no means confined to palmleaf MSS and inscriptions. There are antiquities ; the late Dr. W. F. Stutterheim in his 'Oudheden van I' found only the time to deal with part of them. There is a museum at Denpasar with a not inconsiderable portion of really old metal objects of cultural importance. Though half a century old, the museum never had a full-time keeper nor a keeper was trained for this job. Hence there are no publications emanating from the museum, and only exceptionally a photo of an object to be found there is to be met with in a publication. Honorary keepers of the museum succeeded in collecting much valuable material for the study of Bali, not available elsewhere and awaiting publication.

The preceding pages gave a rough sketch of what has been done and is being done with Bali's *treasures*, here for the historian taken as its *records of the past*, i.e. the Balinese past and the Indo-Javanese past. In the course of these paragraphs some remarks about present circumstances have been made, but they are still insufficient. After several centuries of relative spiritual seclusion and stagnation, during the last half century Bali experienced three serious shocks (not to mention the devastating earthquake) : Dutch occupation shortly before 1910 ; Japanese occupation 1942/5, followed by the Indonesian revolution and independence. Even to sketch the impact upon Balinese society would lead me too far, but linking up with MSS I might tell something at least about a post-war novelty in Bali : bookshops and publishing firms. Those bookshops and publishers are to be found in nearly each of the seven subdivisions, and the most important one manages to import most current books and magazines available in Java. The publishers produce pamphlets and sometimes even books exclusively on Balinese topics ; for that category the bookshops generally reserve one of their three walls. These Balinese topics are produced in Balinese, Middle-Javanese, Old-Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia, the unifying language for Indonesia developed from Malay first of all, Javanese, Dutch, etc.

In these bookshops we may find the Old-Javanese **Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin** (Balinese script) ; *kāvya* **Bhārata Yuddha** (Balinese script, Latin transliteration, Balinese translation in Balinese script, Indonesian translation) and the Śaiva-Buddhistic *kāvya* **Sutasoma**, dealing with Kalmāṣapāda (same production) in numerous instalments. Side by side with these high-aiming *kakavins* we find Balinese poems like **Dukuh Siladri** (various versions), **Basur** and **Jayaprāṇa**, those important literary manifestations of an unmistakably Hinduised and still Indonesian people. Much more numerous are the treatises on religion/philosophy/metaphysics, manuals for priests and so on and so forth, usually mere transliterations into Latin script from existing palmleaf MSS, but also not unfrequently freshly-composed expositions.

This last category is of special importance for the study of Balinese cultural developments. Though several pamphlets are a mere rehash of what is to be found in the usual MSS, some of them definitely show they originate from the world outside *jagat Bali*, the Balinese world. They may have been written by Balinese who have absorbed thoughts from Indonesia, India, Europe and America, or they have been written in English by Indians and translated by their Balinese friends; examples from both kinds are to be found.

We find books on 'India suchi', the Bhagavad-gītā and Dharmopadeśa as well-printed books. We find moreover pamphlets representing Ceylonese and Burmese Buddhism, as well as the montly Buddhis from Surabaya (Java). There are Buddhist centres in Ungaran (Sĕmarang) and Malang, and their publications are available in Balinese bookshops. A theosophical monthly published in Gyanyar was in its third year when we lived there. A book of over 200 pages, *Kundalini Yoga*, originally written by Svami Śivananda, translated into Indonesian by Kwee Liong Tan, Malang, was given to us a fare-well present by a good Balinese friend. I am not sure whether the Javanese mystical treatises in which the old-established Javanese publishing house Tan Khoen Swie of Kadiri specialises are meant for the Javanese in Bali or for the Balinese too; these last might experience some difficulty with Modern-Javanese language. To finish this rapid enumeration, which is not meant to be exhaustive, I would point to the Indonesian publications of the Kongres Ka-batin-an (Inward Life) in Java.

On the one hand one can only be delighted to state that Bali is neither a museum nor a hot-house but is open to new thought. On the other hand it will be evident that modifications in Balinese beliefs and in Balinese writings are to be expected and could already be stated. These alterations certainly do not facilitate research into the Indo-Javanese-Balinese past. This paper may be concluded with two paragraphs on historical research in Bali.

For the study of its culture Bali has for the last few years had a 'Fakultas Sastra' where Sanskrit, Old-Javanese, History, Anthropology and Linguistics are being taught. As a matter of fact the Balinese are the obvious people to study their own culture; they are a gifted people and one can only hope that studious graduates of this Faculty will find the opportunity and the urge to serve their people by their research.

Immediately after the Balinese there is one people that has a considerable lead on every other people on earth for the study of the Hindu-side of Balinese culture or Indo-Javanese culture, and they are the Indians. They have contributed their part and are still active, as appears in recent years from the publications of the International Academy of Indian Culture at New-Delhi. For Academies for dozens of years research remains to be done by dozens of scholars, with regard to the study of the past in Java and Bali. But my fantasy is as much occupied by those who might be able to catch an opportunity of working in Bali itself during a couple of years. They might help to take stock of the Indo-Javanese-Balinese heritage and to study this treasure, to divulge their knowledge in treatises and in this way to continue part of the work done by R. C. Majumdar.

Kamaleswar Bhattacharya

RELIGIOUS SPECULATIONS IN ANCIENT CAMBODIA

ŚAIVA SPECULATIONS

It is well known that the three Indian religions—Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism—flourished in Cambodia during about 1300 years. The numerous inscriptions that have been discovered in that country throw flood of light on the various aspects of these religions. Unfortunately, the Cambodian inscriptions, as those of India itself and of the other Indianized countries of South-East Asia, have never been studied from the religious point of view. They have been chiefly utilized as sources of political history. However, most of these inscriptions are religious in character ; their object is frequently to relate some religious foundation.

The Cambodian inscriptions are written in two languages : Sanskrit and Khmer, the local language. The earliest inscriptions, dating from the 5th century, are written exclusively in Sanskrit. The Khmer language appears only in the 7th century. But then, this language is still amorphous, searching for its vocabulary and syntax. The records of the 11th century show that the Khmer language was at that time perfectly utilizable in a historical narration. But no document has come down to us which permits us to believe that the Khmer language in ancient times was suitable for poetical and philosophical compositions. All the praśastis are written in Sanskrit. Frequently, the poetical portion of an inscription is in Sanskrit, the material and technical portion in Khmer. Most of the inscriptions written in Khmer are nothing but lists of donations made to temples.

The invocatory stanzas of the Sanskrit inscriptions are particularly interesting from the religious point of view. They often express theological and philosophical ideas drawn from different Indian texts. It is difficult to say on the basis of these fragmentary documents if philosophical activities were so important in ancient Cambodia as we know they were in Java, where several philosophical texts of great importance have come down to us. But the average of these stanzas, we may say, is more philosophical than the average of the invocatory stanzas of the Indian, Cham, and Javanese inscriptions. And though they are fragmentary, they permit us together to have a clear idea of the general tendencies of the three religions : Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism. We cannot deal with the subject in its totality here. We have to limit ourselves. We propose, therefore, to discuss the Śaiva speculations alone. The choice is not arbitrary. Śaivism was, in fact, the most popular religion in ancient Cambodia. The documents on it are more numerous than on Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism, and the ideas we gather from them are for that reason more comprehensive.

* * * *

The Śaiva doctrine is for the first time expounded in Cambodia in an inscription from Phnom Bayang, dated 526 ś. (604 A. D.) and 546 ś. (624 A. D.)[1] :

yam āṇtarañ jyotir upāsate budhā
niruttaraṃ brahma parañ jigīṣavaḥ //
tapaśśrutejyāvidhayo yadarpaṇā
bhavanty anirdeśyaphalānubandhinaḥ /
na kevalaṃ tatphalayogasaṅginām
asaṅgināṃ karmaphalatyajām api //
nisargasiddhair aṇimādibhir guṇair
upetam aṅgīkṛtaśaktivistaraiḥ /
dhiyām atītaṃ vacasām agocaram
anāspadaṃ yasya padaṃ vidur budhāḥ //

"Whom (Śiva) the sages, desirous of conquering the supreme (condition), the absolute *brahman*, worship as the internal light ;

"Through Whom the practices of austerity, study and sacrifice, provided they are offered to Him, bring about undefinable results, not only for those who are (still) attached to the acquisition of the fruits of those works, but also for those who are completely detached and have renounced all fruits of actions ;

"Whose foot[2] without stand, endowed with tenuity and other qualities which are inherent in Him, and which develop through the action of the energies He assumes, foot that surpasses the power of all thoughts and all words, is known only to the sages".

Śiva is conceived here as a personal god, endowed with form and qualities, who bestows his grace on his worshippers. But, on the other hand, he is also identified with the absolute *brahman*. Moreover, we discern here the idea of Yoga. Śiva is the "internal light" (*antarañ jyotiḥ*) meditated upon by the sages. It is in this form that the god appears to the Yogins ; it represents the "body of Śiva" (*Śivāṅga*). The Yogins perceive this light not only in their own hearts, but in those of all beings. Afterwards, they come to the perception of the Absolute, which is beyond all definition. The "internal light" is the Universal Self (*sarvātman*). The perception of this immanent principle leads to that of the transcendent principle, the *parabrahman* or *paramātman*[3].

This conception of Śiva at the same time as a personal god, as the subtle self of the Universe, and as the transcendent Absolute, is not peculiar to this text ; it is found throughout Cambodian epigraphy. It appears in India with the *Śvetaśvatara-Upaniṣad*, at the dawn of Śaiva theology.

Finally, we discover in this text a speculation on *bhakti* : God is the bestower of the fruits of actions ; the actions themselves are inefficacious ; it is from the renunciation of the fruits of actions that grows *bhakti* or self-surrender that procures the grace of God.

Śiva is immanent and transcendent[4]. The immanent aspect of the god has given rise to the concept of *Aṣṭa-mūrti*[5]. Earth, Water, Fire, Wind, Ether, Sun and Moon are Śiva's "forms" (or "bodies", *tanu*). The eighth form is called sometimes *ātman*, sometimes *yajamāna*, in virtue of a well-established identity. It represents the very essence of Śiva. The other forms of the god themselves contain it. It is in this way that the cosmos is penetrated with the essence of Śiva[6]. However, a Cambodian inscription of the 11th century, coming from Phnom Sangke Kong (and reproduced at Prasat Tap Siem), says that it is Śiva's light (*jyotis*) that shines (*jājvalīti*) in Earth, Water, Fire, Wind, Ether, Sun and Moon[7]. Light is here undoubtedly identified with *ātman*. We have already seen a proof of this identification : the "internal light" of the Yogins is nothing but the universal *ātman*. But an older tradition confirms it also : according to the Upaniṣads, *brahman-ātman-puruṣa* is luminous (*bhārūpa*)[8].

The Aṣṭa-mūrti concept has played a great part in Cambodia, not only in speculations, but also in cult. Śiva's "eight forms" were symbolized by eight liṅgas. Epigraphy tells us also that to the god were offered garlands of eight flowers (*aṣṭa-puṣpī*, *aṣṭa-puṣpikā*)[9]. This custom is attested to in India by texts bearing on the Śaiva cult[10]. According to the formal testimony of a non-technical text, the *Harṣa carita*, the eight flowers really represent Śiva's "eight forms" [11]. The eight liṅgas also are found in mediaeval India, but in a different form : whereas in India seven liṅgas were raised around an eighth liṅga in the centre[12], in Cambodia it seems that the eight liṅgas were themselves raised around a new central liṅga. In the latter case, the central liṅga seems to represent the supreme, non-manifested Śiva, and the eight liṅgas his manifested aspects. We may compare in this connection the rite of the "First Bricks" preceding the construction of the temples. In the words of Dr. St. Kramrisch :

> "The eight manifestations of Śiva, and the eight constituents of the subtle body of man and all the Tattvas are invoked in the base, middle and top of the first eight bricks which are consecrated on an altar before they are laid down in the "foundation" of a temple. The Supreme Śiva who is beyond and without qualities and who is the origin and Lord of all the Tattvas is invoked in the (ninth) brick in the middle" [13].

Śiva is "spread in the whole Universe" (*samastabhuvanavyāpin*) ; his essence pervades all things (*vyāpakātman*)[14]. His universal light shines beyond darkness (*tamasaḥ param*)[15]. He is moreover compared to Ether (*vyoman*), which has sound for its quality (*śabdaguṇa*), which surpasses our perception (*vyatītendriya-vartman*), and which fills everything (*viśvato vyaśnuvāna*)[16].

Transcendent Śiva is *parabrahman* or *paramātman* ; he is called *kevala*, "unique", *atanu*, "bodyless", *niṣkala*, "devoid of parts", *nirguṇa*, "without qualities", *śūnya*, "void" [17]. It is through his *śakti* ("energy") that he manifests himself (*abhivyakta*) in diverse forms (*anekadhā*), through the manifold unfolding of the three guṇas (*anekaguṇavistara*)[18]. Unique Śiva becomes thus multiple[19]. The entire creation beginning with Brahmā and ending with the herbs (*viriñcyāditṛṇāvasāna*) is due to the *śakti* of Śiva[20]. He is the sole cause of the Universe (*jagadekahetu*), the beginning (*ādi*) and the end (*anta*) of all beings, but himself has neither any beginning nor any end (*anādinidhana*)[21]. The Trinity (Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra) entrusted with the three cosmic functions—creation, conservation and dissolution—emanates from him who at the end of the *yuga* (*yugānta*), that is to say at the dissolution, returns to his absolute unity (*kaivalya*)[22].

Immanent and transcendent, multiple and unique : for explaining this conception, our authors frequently use, from the middle of the 10th century onwards, the image of the reflection of the sun or the moon in water[23]. This image is familiar to the Vedāntists[24]. The *Śiva-Purāṇa*, which refers to the Vedānta and preaches expressly an *advaita* or *Śivādvaita*[25], says :

"All is Śiva, Śiva is all ; there is no difference. How does one see diversity, and how unity ? Just as people see the same sunlight diversely and in particular fashions, in water, etc." [26].

The *Liṅga-Purāṇa* says also :

"For the perception of the beings, the sun, though one, manifests itself in many ways in the receptacles of water" [27].

In other words, the entire creation is nothing but a reflection of God. It is not distinct from his own substance (*nānyas svabhāvāt*) [28] ; the difference is due only to the external limitations (*upādhi*), to wit, the name (*nāman*) and the form (*rūpa*) [29]. We have there an "identity in difference" (*bhedābheda*). This is exactly the term used in the Prasat Khna inscription (reign of Rājendravarman : 944-968 A. D.) [30].

In fact, the *prakṛti* which unfolds itself for creating the Universe, is an integrant part of God, who is at the same time the efficient and the material cause of the Universe. [3] The Universe is, therefore, identical with God. But this identity is essential ; it does not lie in the appearances, because God, who is changeless, is beyond those appearances. The phenomenal Universe is a "reflection" of God, penetrated with divine essence but externally limited. Hence these words of the *Śiva-Purāṇa* : "After creating himself the Universe, he penetrates it, but remains distant from it. In reality, however, he does not penetrate it, because his nature is pure Consciousness (*cit*) ; nothing sullies him. Light is reflected in water, but, in fact, does not penetrate it : the same is done by Śiva" [32]. A Cambodian inscription says also that Śiva's light (*ātman*, the cosmic essence), "which is spread in the Universe, shines there without undergoing its contact" [33].

Śiva is pure Consciousness ; his form itself is Consciousness. Hence his epithet *cidghana*, [33a] or, as we find it in an inscription from Banteay Srei [34], *cidācita*. This inscription, dated 891 ś. (969 A. D.), is of great philosophical interest. Like the Naiyāyikas, the author says : in consequence of the birth of the worlds (*janmanā jagatām*), Śiva is inferred (*anumita*) as the agent (*kartā*), while, "if we start from the idea of pure Consciousness (*caitanya*), he does not manifest himself through his own action in time and matter" (*ā caitanyād upādāna-kālāvyaktas svakarmaṇā*) [35]. But "his knowledge as agent, sprung from the spectacle of the simultaneous production of diverse effects, is fruitless for attaining all eternal and transcendent aims" [36] ; "he proclaims loudly, though without words, his nature as cause by developing the Universe through his well-known bodies, namely, Earth, etc." [37] ; "unique and supreme origin of the sciences of the visible and the invisible, he has manifested himself in us, individuals, like the moon in the universal waters" [38].

Thus, our author adopts the Vedānta and rejects the Nyāya : he does not admit any duality between the cause and the effect. Śiva is at the same time the efficient and the material cause of the Universe, at the same time agent and matter. Therefore, the Universe is but a projection of Śiva.

Why does this monistic tendency appear in Cambodia precisely in the middle of the 10th century ? May we not suppose that the chapters of the *Śiva* and the *Liṅga-Purāṇa* that proclaim the *Śivādvaita* were composed about this period ? We know from other evidences that the religious evolutions of India were rather quickly transmitted to Cambodia. To cite only one example, the Śaiva sect, which, according to the comparative testimony of Śaṅkarācārya's commentary on *Brahmasūtra*, II,2,37, and Vācaspatimiśra's *Bhāmatī*, seems to have been formed in India in the first half of the 9th century, is already found established in Cambodia under the reign of Yaśovarman I (889-900 A. D.) [39].

It is to be noted, however, that some kind of monism already existed in Cambodia in the 7th century. Thus, an inscription of the reign of Īśānavarman I (first half of the 7th century) says that Śiva manifests himself in the Universe "through the manifold unfolding of the three guṇas" (*anekaguṇavistara*) [40]. According to this expression, the efficient cause of the Universe, Śiva, is not distinct from its material cause, the *pradhāna*, composed of the three guṇas. The same doctrine will be propounded in a more elaborate form by an inscription from Ban That, in the 12th century [41]. An inscription of the 8th century, coming from Phnom Ba The in Cochin China, tells us that Śiva, who is one, divides his essence in many ways (*Vividhātmakam ekam*) [42]. Finally, in the 9th century, a verse found in several inscriptions of Indravarman I (877-889 A. D.) says that Śiva, "though he is unique, does not cease to divide himself by living simultaneously in multiple beings (*yenaikenāpy anekeṣu tiṣṭhatā yugapat pṛthak/ ātmā 'pi kriyate nityam*......)[43].

To appreciate fully such a tendency, we have to recall that monistic theism is quite old in India. We find it already in two fundamental texts—the *Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad* of the Śaivites and the *Bhagavadgītā* of the Vaiṣṇavites. The hymn to Brahma in Kālidāsa's *Kumāra saṃbhava* (II, 4 ff.) is also of monistic inspiration.

The Nyāya point of view rejected by the Banteay Srei inscription studied above is espoused by certain Āgamas, for instance, the *Mṛgendra*[44]. We know, however, that Āgamic Śaivism was firmly established in Cambodia. In epigraphy, we find mention of the Āgamic dīkṣās, of Śivācāryas, and of the *pañcākṣara-mantra*[45]. But, as we shall see later on, only one inscription in Cambodia professes a purely Āgamic doctrine[46]. It seems, on the whole, that the Āgamic influence was more or less confined to the ritual. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that the *Pārameśvarāgama*, mentioned in two Cambodian inscriptions[47], is of monistic tendency. It says that Śiva is the efficient cause (*nimitta-kāraṇa*) of the Universe and that the śaktis are its material or "inherent" cause (*upādāna*—or *samavāyikāraṇa*) ; the Universe develops through the influence of Śiva's magical force (*māyā*)[48]. Just as the sun—or the moon-beams provoke the spontaneous opening of the lotus or the white lily, without any direct intervention, so does Śiva provoke the spontaneous unfolding of the śaktis, through the sole action of his magical power[49]. But, since the śaktis are essentially identical with Śiva,[50] in the last analysis the Universe is but a manifestation of Śiva.

"Śiva is one with the *śakti*, as fire is one with the flame", says the Phnom Sangke Kong inscription[51]. The *Śiva-Purāṇa* uses a similar image, that of the moon and its light[52]. We find this image elsewhere too, in the Pāñcarātra literature for example[53]. The Banteay Srei inscription that we have studied above compares in its turn the relation between Śiva and his *śakti* to the relation that exists between fire and heat[54]. Later on, our text explains this relation by calling it *bhedābheda*[55]. We should remember that Śiva's identity with the *śakti* is essential, not absolute. Śiva is the substance (*dharmin*) of which the *śakti* is the attribute (*dharma*) ; Śiva is the reality (*bhavat, aham*) of which the *śakti* is the expression (*bhāva, ahaṃtā*)[56].

Umā is "closely united with Śiva" (*nitānta-Śiva-saṃgatā*)[57]. Śiva cohabits with Unmanā (*Unmanayaikadhāmā*)[58] and possesses the half of Umā's body (*Umārdhakāya*)[59] ; they are united in one body (*ekadehau*), being the cause of the Universe (*bhuvanakāraṇam*)[60]. Such is the concept of Ardhanārīśvara or androgynous Śiva. It emphasizes also the essential identity of Śiva and his *śakti*[61].

The one (*ekā*) *śakti* unfolds herself in various ways in the Universe [62]. The *Śiva-Purāṇa* says: "Though she is unique, she shines in diverse forms, like sunlight" [63].

An inscription from Phnom Sandak, dated 1032 ś. (1110 A. D.), contains the following verse:

namaś śivāyāstu ya eka eva
jñānakriyārūpatayā dvibhedaḥ/
bhūyo 'py anugrāhitayā 'ṇuvṛnde
vāmādibhedād bahudhā vikīrṇaḥ//

"Adoration to Śiva, who is unique, but has divided himself in two forms: that of knowledge (*jñāna*) and that of action (*kriyā*), and who, moreover, in favour of the multitude of souls [64], has dispersed himself in many ways through the division in Vāmā, etc." [65].

The first part of this verse seems to expound the doctrine that divides the two conceptual entities: Śiva (*jñāna*) and *śakti* (*kriyā*) [66]. In the second part, reference is made to the nine manifestations of the *śakti* in Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā, etc. Śiva is *navātman, navavyūhātmaka*; his nine śaktis represent the subtle elements of which the Universe is composed [67].

The next verse of the same inscription speaks of a twofold function of the *śakti*:

yasyāḥ prasāde jagatām vimuktir
vāllabhyataḥ patyur anādibandhāt /
bhāvānyatāyām api bandhavṛddhir
vidyaiva sā vo 'vatu viśvarūpā //

"May the multiform (*viśvarūpā*) Knowledge (*Vidyā*) protect you! Though in one of her aspects (*bhāvānyatāyām*), she increases the bond (*bandha*), it is through her that the creatures find their deliverance from the beginningless bond (*anādibandhāt*), due to the favour (*vāllabhyataḥ*) of the Lord (*Pati*)". [68]

The "multiform Knowledge" (*Vidyā viśvavilakṣaṇā*), who is Śiva's inherent (*svābhāvikī*) *śakti*, is the source of the bonds as well as of the deliverance from them (*mohayaty aprayatnena mocayaty api līlayā*), says the *Śiva-Purāṇa* [69]. But this does not explain wholly our verse. It expounds an Āgamic doctrine. The aspect in which the *śakti* increases the bonds is that of *rodha*, "obstruction", or *tirodhāna* (or *tirobhāva*), "obscuration." The augmentation or maturation (*pariṇāma*) of the bonds, which, we are told, exist from all eternity (*anādi*) as the creation itself, aims only at leading the creatures to the unfolding (*unmīlana*) of their intrinsic faculties. When the bonds are ripe, the *śakti* of grace descends (*anugraha-śakti-pāta*) to put an end to them. The Lord (*Pati*), explains the *Mṛgendra*, uses pain only to lead the creatures to their deliverance which is His goal: the painful operation of the surgeon has for its aim to cure the patient and not to increase his sufferings. [70] Śiva himself assumes the form of the *guru* to administer the *dīkṣās*, which introduce the individuals in different states proportionate to their capacities : the *samaya*—, in that of "servant" (*dāsa*), the *viśeṣa*—, in that of "son" (*putra*), the *nirvāṇa*—, in that of "companion" (*saha-mārga*), or, in the highest degree, in that of being identical with Śiva (*san-mārga*). Thus the *śakti* of grace descends very slowly, slowly, rapidly, or instantaneously, according to the capacities of the individuals. We progress in our existence by passing from an inferior state to a superior one (and, surely, we profit at the outset by the results obtained in our previous lives). The Lord throws down successively the bonds by renewing at each stage his twofold operation : obstruction and administration of grace [71].

We notice also a certain influence of the Sāṃkhya. Thus, an inscription from Trapang Don On, dated 1051 ś. (1129 A. D.), says :

namaś śivāya yacchaktir ādyā puruṣasaṃgatā /
prakṛtisthā dvitīyā vā yābhyāṃ vyāptam idañ jagat //

"Adoration to Śiva ! His first *śakti* is united with the *puruṣa*, his second *śakti* dwells in the *prakṛti*, and both of them pervade this Universe" [72].

The first (*ādyā*) *śakti* is the supreme, unmanifested *śakti*, who is united with Śiva [73]. The latter is identified here with the *puruṣa* of the Sāṃkhya. The second *śakti* is the manifested Universe. If "both of them pervade this Universe", that is because they are but one in reality : the *prakṛti* is but the manifested aspect of the unique, supreme *śakti*, who is identified with the "original *prakṛti*" (*mūla-prakṛti*), that is to say the undifferentiated Matter [74].

Let us remark that the Śaivites, though they identify the *śakti* with the *prakṛti* of the Sāṃkhya, do not consider her as distinct from Śiva-*puruṣa*. She resides in himself.

We may take into account in this connection the theory of creation and dissolution as it is set forth in the Ban That inscription (first half of the 12th century). Śiva is represented there as the master of the primordial Matter (pradhāna, *mūla-prakṛti*), composed of the three guṇas (*triguṇātmaka*). Through his own power (*svaśaktyā*), he unfolds it at creation and resorbs it at dissolution. Matter is inherent in Śiva ; he produces the apparent duality that results from the evolution of Matter (*dvidhārthaṃ prakariṣyamāṇa*), but himself remains unchanged (*nirvikṛti*) in the course of this evolution [75].

Thus, we see that the material cause of the Universe, the *pradhāna*, is not distinct from its efficient cause, Śiva. But our text does not tell us the whole truth. The Force to which it refers belongs, in fact, to Matter itself, which is the *śakti* of Śiva. The Universe develops from the *śakti* and through the action of the *śakti*. At the time of dissolution, it is resorbed in God, and, till the next creation, it resides in Him, in an undifferentiated state. All these events take place in virtue of a decree of the divine will : God is the master of creation and dissolution. But He does not intervene directly, He only guides the action of the *śakti* ; His power is a magic power (*māyā*) [76].

The parallelism with the Sāṃkhya is evident here : the *prakṛti*, endowed with an intimate force, evolves of itself, under the magnetic influence of an intelligent and changeless principle, the *puruṣa*. But the Śaivites (as well as the Vaiṣṇavites) institute, in place of the dualism of the Sāṃkhya, a monism : in their doctrine, the *śakti-prakṛti* is an integrant part of God. God covers Himself with the products of the *pradhāna*, like a spider that covers itself with the threads born of itself, says the *Śvetāśvatara*. [77]

Finally, the Baksei Camkrong inscription (948 A. D.) seems to allude to the evolution of the *prakṛti*, as it is described in the Sāṃkhya. It compares Śiva to the *avyakta* (the *mūla-prakṛti*) and the *śakti* to the *buddhi* (the *mahat*). The *śakti*,—the manifested aspect of Śiva,—just as the *buddhi*,—the first evolute of the *avyakta*,—is the origin of the whole Universe [78].

The *praṇava* holds an important place in the Śaiva speculations in ancient Cambodia. Śiva is called *praṇavātman* or *śabdātman*, "Whose essence is the *praṇava* or the *śabda*" ; *śabdadeha*, "Whose body is the *śabda*" [79]. The *praṇava* is also called *udgītha* [80]. The Prasat Komphus and Vat Prah Einkosei inscriptions (reign of Jayavarman V : 968-1001 A. D.) identify the three elements of the *praṇava* with Fire (*Vahni*), Wind (*Pavana*) and Sun (*Arka*) [81]. This conception is found in the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* [82]. However, the inscription of Rājendravarman at Eastern Mebon, dated 874 ś. (952 A. D.), identifies the three elements of the *praṇava* : 1° with Sun, Moon and Fire ; 2° with the Brahmanical Trinity, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra ; 3° with the three guṇas [83]. The Pre Rup inscription (961 A. D.), in its turn, puts the Trinity in relation with Sun, Moon and Fire [84]. Indian texts, posterior to the *Chāndogya*, testify, in fact, to the identification of the three elements of the *praṇava* with the Brahmanical Trinity. [85] Both the three elements of the *praṇava* and the Brahmanical Trinity are identified, moreover, with the three guṇas [86]. As regards Sun, Moon and Fire, their identification with the three elements of the *praṇava* is also found [87]. Besides, they make us think of the three eyes of Śiva [88].

We may also examine in this connection the first verse of the Pre Rup inscription :

ṛgbhir vahniśikhākalāpavisaravyaktābhir aindrīn diśaṃ
prodyadvāyusamīritena yajuṣā yo dīpayan dakṣiṇām/
sāmnā caṇḍamarīciraśminikarapradyotitenāparāṅ
kauberīñ ca vibhāti tais samuditais tasmai namaś śambhave//

"Adoration to Śambhu who shines, illuminating the region of Indra (the East) with the Ṛks manifested by the unfolding of the bundle of flames, the South with the Yajus moved by the Wind that rises, the West with the Sāman illumined by the mass of sunbeams, and the region of Kubera (the North) with the three Vedas combined !" [89].

This rather strange verse, where prevails the idea of the omnipresence of the God, reminds us of the four faces of Brahmā, which, being turned towards the four cardinal points, are thought to represent the four Vedas (sprung from his four mouths), the Ṛgveda being in the East, the Yajus in the South, the Sāman in the West, and the Atharvan in the North.[90] This distribution of the Vedas in the space is, in fact, very old.[91] But our text does not recognize the authority of the Atharvaveda, and the Mebon inscription, too, evokes the *trayī*.[92] On the other hand, the three Vedas are here connected with the triad of Fire, Wind and Sun that we met before. It is to be remembered that the three elements of the *praṇava* are also identified with the three Vedas.[93] And our texts tell us that the Ṛgveda corresponds to Fire (= the earth), the Yajus to Wind (= the atmosphere), and the Sāman to Sun (= the sky).[94] It seems, therefore, that our verse draws its inspiration from the speculations on the *praṇava*.

The Pre Rup inscription tells us, moreover, that Śiva "resides at the end of the (sacred) syllable" (*śabdānta-sthitaye*), that is to say, in the *bindu*, the ultimate echo of the *praṇava*.[95] An inscription from Phum Da, dated 976 ś. (1054 A. D.), calls Śiva *jātibindu*, "*bindu* by birth", *bindugarbha*. "Whose matrix is the *bindu*", and *bindv-antar-jvālitaujas*, "Whose force shines in the interior of the *bindu*".[96] However, if the *bindu* or *anusvāra* surpasses in dignity the first three elements of the *praṇava* (*a*, *u*, *m*), the silence that follows it—the "void" (*śūnya*)—represents something still higher, the absolute *brahman*.[97] And our inscription does not simply give to Śiva the epithets that have just been mentioned ; it says also that he "enjoys still pleasure when he is in the *bindu*, but that he is detached from it when out of the *bindu* (*saratir binduvāsī yo viratir bindunirgataḥ*).[98] In other words, he is then identified with the absolute *brahman*.

The next part of the inscription relates the installation by a Yogin, identified with Śiva (*sākṣān nāthaḥ*), of a liṅga "drawn from the entrails of his body" (*āhṛtya śarīra-koṣṭhāt*).[99] A. Bergaigne[100] has perfectly established the philosophical basis of these expressions. His arguments may be resumed as follows : an accomplished Yogin could pass for Śiva himself ; the essence of Śiva could therefore reside in him ; and, since the liṅga represents this essence (*śivatattvabhūtam*, "the very reality of Śiva", says our inscription), one could say that it had been absorbed by the Yogin. To these remarks we have to add, however, that the liṅga of stone erected by the Yogin was the materialized aspect of the subtle (*sūkṣma*), inner (*ābhyantara*, *ādhyātmika*) liṅga that resides in the hearts of the Yogins (*yogināṃ hṛdi saṃsthitam*). This subtle, inner liṅga is the absolute Śiva, "without parts" (*niṣkala*), who is the object of the meditation of the Yogins following the path of knowledge (*jñāna*), whereas the liṅgas of stone and other materials—gross (*sthūla*), exterior (*bāhya*) liṅgas—represent only embodied (*sakala*) Śiva whom adore people following the path of action (*karman*).[101]

We may also remark in this connection that the idea of Yoga is the basis of what the French scholars call "cultes personnels" ("personal cults"). The worshipper identifies himself with the divinity by adding the word *īśvara* to his personal name. Mediaeval India offers numerous examples of this practice, but the idea from which it is sprung is older still. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* (1,4,10) says: "Whoever considers that the divinity is other than himself—"He is one and I another"—knows not."[102]

Tha absolute Śiva is accessible only through Yoga (*yogādhigamya*).[103] The Pre Rup inscription says that Śiva has for his essence the Yoga of the Yogins (*yogiyogātmaka*).[104] We have already seen[105] that Śiva reveals himself to the Yogins in the form of an "internal light" (*āntarañ jyotis*), which is nothing but the Universal Self, the *sarvātman*. From the perception of this immanent principle comes that of the transcendent principle, the *para-brahman* or *paramātman*.

Since Śiva is the universal *ātman*, it is in him that man realizes, with the help of Yoga, the identity of *ātman*. An inscription from Prasat Sankhah (reign of Sūryavarman I: 1002-1050 A. D.) says: "Water is divided in several waters when it is put in several containers, but it ceases to be divided in the unique container that is the ocean."[106]

Finally, we may take into account two inscriptions—those of O Dambang and Tuol Ta Pec, where, behind a series of puns, we discover ideas related to Yoga mysticism[107]: Śiva is "the *kalahaṃsa* (a particular kind of *haṃsa* and also the Supreme Spirit) that frequents the lake of the heart of the Yogins" (*yogi-svānta-sara-saṅgi-kalahaṃsa*); he is "the Universal Soul (*haṃsa*) that resides in the *bindu*" (*haṁsaḥ khagaḥ*, literally "the bird *haṁsa*": *kha*, "empty space, ether, air", means also, in the mystical language, the *bindu*), "whose realm is the spirit" (*mānasa-gocara*, an expression that may mean, if it is related to the *haṃsa*: "......the Mānasa lake"), and "which possesses the *nāda*" (the resonance that comes out of the *bindu*, or, if we think of the bird, a piercing cry: *sanāda*).

In the last place, we shall examine a verse contained in an inscription from Koh Ker (reign of Jayavarman IV: 921-941 A. D.)[108]. Śiva, who is significantly called Dhruva, "fixed" (cf. Sthāṇu), is described there as "the prop of the two heptads of worlds" (*dvisaptajagadālamba*). He is thus conceived as the cosmic pillar or the axis of the Universe.[109] The same idea is expressed in the plastic representations of the *Ekapādamūrti*, which derive from a Vedic tradition.[110] Bāṇa[111] invokes Śiva as the *mūla-stambha* ("basic pillar") of the three worlds (*trailokyanagarārambha-mūlastambhāya*), and it is perhaps not indifferent to note that the capital of the Vardhanas, under whose patronage this author lived, was called

Sthāṇvīśvara. The word *mūla-stambha* is applied, on the other hand, to the "celestial liṅga" (*divya-liṅga*), which is considered as a luminous pillar.[112] An inscription from Bengal –the famous inscription of Vijayasena at Deopara—uses the expressions *mūla-kāṇḍa*, "basic trunk", and *ālamba-stambha*, "stay-pillar", in relation to the Meru, which is assimilated to a tree.[113] In the *Ekapādamūrti*, too, Śiva is conceived as a tree of which the two lateral branches are Brahmā and Viṣṇu. We are immediately reminded of the Vedic *skambha* or *stambha*, a cosmic pillar that assumes the form of a tree (and which is closely related to *Aja Ekapād*). The same cosmic pillar,—which is a manifestation of Brahman-Prajāpati-Puruṣa-Agni,—is also conceived as a column of fire, which reminds us of the luminous liṅga referred to above.[114].

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From the foregoing pages it will be seen that almost all the currents of Indian thought are reflected in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia. Their authors have frequently drawn their inspiration from the Upaniṣads, the Purāṇas, and the Āgamas. The Vedāntic influence which we notice in Cambodia towards the middle of the 10th century, seems to be related to a particular movement in the Śaiva circles of India at that period. Finally, the Yogic theories have exerted a strong influence.

The mastery with which the authors of the Cambodian inscriptions express the religious and philosophical ideas is an evidence of the deep cultural influence of India.[115]

NOTES
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Bibliographic References

1. *ISCC.*, V,—Cf. K. Bhattacharya, "La secte des Pāśupata dans l'ancien Cambodge", *JA.*, 1955, pp. 482-483.
2. This inscription relates the installation or the restoration of a Śivapada.
3. See A. Zieseniss, "Studien zur Geschichte des Śivaismus ; die śivaitischen Systeme in der altjavanischen Literatur, I", *Bijdragen*, 98 (1939), pp. 86-88.
4. According to the current terminology, Śiva is *viśvarūpa* and *viśvādhika*, cf. *Liṅga-Purāṇa* (Veṅkaṭeśvara ed., Bombay), II, 17, 4 ; II, 18, 4. The Kashmirians use the words *viśvātmaka* and *viśvottirṇa*, cf. *Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya* (ed. J. C. Chatterji, *KSTS.*, III, Srinagar, 1911), p. 8.—The Vedic Puruṣa is also immanent and transcendent. See the *Puruṣa-sūkta* (ṚV., X, 90), and A. K. Coomaraswamy, *JAOS.*, 66 (1946), pp. 145 ff.—The idea contained in the *Puruṣa-sūkta* is developed by the older Upaniṣads, like the

Bṛhadāraṇyaka and the *Chāndogya*—, and the later theism reproduces it in the very terms of the hymn (cf. *Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad*, III, 14-15).

5. See K. Bhattacharya, "The Aṣṭa-mūrti Concept of Śiva in India, Indo-China and Indonesia", *IHQ.*, XXIX (1953), pp. 233 ff.
6. *ātmā tasyāṣṭamī mūrtiḥ śivasya paramātmanaḥ/vyāpiketaramūrtīnaṃ viśvaṃ tasmāc chivātmakam//*—*Śiva-Purāṇa* (Veṅkaṭeśvara ed.), VII, 2, 3, 28.
7. *IC.*, VI, p. 229, v. II.
8. *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, III, 14, 2.—Cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*—, II,5,1 (*tejomayaḥ puruṣaḥ*) ; *Maitri-*, VI, 17 (*bhāsvaraṃ rūpam*) ; *Muṇḍaka-*, II, 2, 2 (*arcimat*).
9. See "The Aṣṭa-mūrti Concept......", *loc. cit.*
10. Cf. *Somaśambhu-paddhati*, ed. K. M. Subrahmaṇya Śāstrī, Devakoṭṭai, 1931, p. 174, śloka 243.
11. *mūrtīr aṣṭāv api dhyāyantī suciram aṣṭapuṣpikām adāt.*—*Harṣa-carita* (ed. P. V. Kane, Bombay, 1918), I, p. 8.
12. See K. C. Panigrahi, "The Archaeological Remains at Benisāgar in the Singbhum District of Bihar", *JBRS.*, XLII, 1 (1956), p. 3.
13. St. Kramrisch, "Īśānaśivagurudeva—paddhati, Kriyā-pāda chs. XXVI, XXVII", *JISOA.*, IX (1941), p. 176.
14. *IC.*, III, p. 106, v. II.
15. *ISCC.*, XVII, A, 1.—Cf. *IC.*, I, p. 62, v. I ; *BEFEO.*, XI, p. 398, v. I.—*Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad*, III, 8a (=*Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā*, XXXI, 18a) : *vedāham etaṃ puruṣaṃ mahāntam ādityavarṇaṃ tamasaḥ parastāt/*
16. *IC.*, I, p. 148. v. I.—Ether is the body of the cosmic Puruṣa ; Coomaraswamy, *loc. cit.*, p. 147, and n. 5,
17. *IC.*, I, p. 19, v. I (=*ISCC.*, XXXVI. 1 ; XXXVIII, 2) ; p. 77, v. II ; *ISCC.*, LV, 1 ; *BEFEO.*, XXXVI, p. 8, v. 4.
18. *IC.*, III, p. 182, v. II ; *ISCC*·, VI, A, 1.—The three guṇas in their equilibrium compose the *prakṛti* of the Sāṃkhya, with which is identified the *Śakti*.—See *infra*, p. 85.
19. *IC.*, I, p. 19, v. II (=*ISCC.*, XXXVI, 2) ; *BEFEO.*, XXXVI, p. 8, v. 5.
20. *IC.*, III, p. 46, v. II ; cf. *ibid.*, II, p. 99, v. I (*brahmādir aṃśaḥ*).
21. *IC.*, I, p. 13, v. II ; V. p. 42, v. I ; *ISCC* VI, A. 1.—The primordial Matter (*pradhāna, mūla-prakṛti*), which God projects out of Himself at creation, is resorbed by Him at dissolution.—See *infra*, p. 85. —Creation (*sṛṣṭi*) is nothing but an "emission", and dissolution (*saṃhāra*) is nothing but a "resorption".
22. *ISCC.*, LV, 1 ; LXV, 1 ; *IC.*, I, p. 77, v. II & III (cf. *infra*, n. 83) ; VI, p. 278 ; *BEFEO.*, XXV, p. 311, v. I & II.—Cf. *IC.*, III, p. 106, v. I.
23. *IC.*, II, p. 99, v. I (*nānyas svabhāvād iva vāribhānuḥ*) ; III, p. 182, v. II (*candraḥ pratimayeva*) ; VI, p. 229, v. I (*ūrmimālikallolacañcadvidhubim-*

batulyaḥ) ; ISCC., LXV, 2 (*bahudhevendur bahukoṭighaṭāmbhasi*) ; BEFEO., XI, p. 405, v. I (*jala ivāṃśumān*) ; MAEFEO., I, p. 72, v. IX (*sarvāpām iva candramāḥ*).

24. Cf. the two verses quoted by Śaṅkara in the introduction to his commentary on the *Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad*, p. 16 (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, 17, Poona, 1890).

25. IV, 43, 9 ; VI, 16, 11 (ed. cit.).—For an analysis of the philosophy of the *Śiva-Purāṇa*, see S. N. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, V (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 96 ff.

26. *sarvaṃ śivaḥ śivas sarvo nāsti bhedaś ca kaś cana/*
kathaṃ ca vividhaṃ paśyaty ekatvaṃ ca kathaṃ punaḥ//
yathaikaṃ caiva suryākhyaṃ jyotir nānāvidhaṃ janaiḥ/
jalādau ca viśeṣeṇa dṛśyate tat tathaiva saḥ//—*Śiva-Purāṇa*, (ed. cit.), IV, 43, 20-21.

27. *pratyayārthaṃ hi jagatām ekastho 'pi divākaraḥ//*
eko 'pi bahudhā dṛṣṭo jalādhāreṣu suvratāḥ//—*Liṅga-Purāṇa* (ed. cit.). I, 75,25.—This chapter is entitled "Śivādvaitakathana".

28. *Supra*, p. , n. .

29. Cf. Saṅkara on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* V, 1, 1.

30. BEFEO., XI, p. 405, v. I.—Śiva is here called *bhedābhedātman*, "Whose essence is the identity in difference."

31. Cf. *infra*, p.

32. *racayitvā svayaṃ tac ca praviśya dūrataḥ sthitaḥ/*
na tatra ca praviṣṭo 'sau nirliptaś citsvarūpavān//
yathā ca jyotiṣaś caiva jalādau pratibimbatā/
vastuto na praveśo vai tathaiva ca śivaḥ svayam//—*Śiva-Purāṇa* (ed. cit.), IV, 43, 6-7.

33. *tadvyāpi ca na tatspṛṣṭam ābhāti bhuvane.*—ISCC., XVII, A, I.

33a. S. N. Dasgupta, *loc. cit.*, p. 161.

34. MAEFEO., I, p. 71, v. II.

35. V. II.

36. *kartṛtve yugapannānākāryotpādasya darśanāt/ nityānuttarasarvārthaṃ yasya jñānam asādhanam//*—v.III.

37. *kṣityādibhiḥ prasiddhābhis tanubhis tanvatā jagat/ uccaiḥ kāraṇatākhyātā yenānakṣaram...//*—v. IV.—Cf. the 4th stanza of the Eastern Mebon inscr. (952 A. D.) :
yenaitāni jaganti yajvahutabhugbhāsvannabhaḥsvannabhaḥ-
kṣityambhaḥkṣaṇa-dākarais svatanubhir vyātanvaitaivāṣṭabhiḥ/
uccaiḥ kāraṇaśaktir apratihatā vyākhyāyate 'nakṣaraṃ
jīyāt kāraṇakāraṇaṃ sa bhagavān ardhenducūḍāmaṇiḥ// (BEFEO., XXV, p. 311).

38. *dṛṣṭādṛṣṭārthavidyānāṃ ya ekaḥ prabhavaḥ paraḥ/ vikalpan no 'dād bhinnānāṃ sarvāpām iva candramāḥ//*—v. IX.
39. K. Bhattacharya, *Les religions brahmaniques dans l'ancien Cambodge, d'après l'épigraphie et l'iconographie* (Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. XLIX, Paris, 1961), pp. 43 ff.
40. *ISCC.*, VI, A, 1.—*Supra*, p. 81.
41. *Infra*, p. 85.
42. *BEFEO.*, XXXVI, p. 8, v. 5.—*Supra*, n. 19.
43. *ISCC.*, XXXVI, 2 ; *IC.*, I, p. 19. v. II.—*Supra*, n. 19.
44. *kartā 'numīyate yena jagaddharmeṇa hetunā.*—*Mṛgendrāgama*, ed. N. Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī & K. M. Subrahmaṇya Śāstrī, Devakoṭṭai, 1928, IX, 3a.—Cf. the doctrine expounded in the *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha* of Mādhava (chapter entitled, "Śaiva-darśana").
45. K. Bhattacharya, *Les religions brahmaniques…*, pp. 72-73.
46. *Infra*, p. 84.
47. K. Bhattacharya, *Les religions brahmaniques…*, p. 48.
48. *nimittakāraṇaṃ tv īśvo hy upādānaṃ ca śaktayaḥ/samavāyi tathā māyākāryam etaj jagat sadā//*—*Pārameśvarāgama* (Vidyā-pāda), ed. N. Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī, Devakoṭṭai, 1924, VI, 99.—Cf. S. N. Dasgupta, *loc. cit.*, p. 28.
49. *yathā 'rkaraśmayo dīptā nirapekṣās· tapanti hi/vikāsākuñcane dṛṣṭ kumudeṣv ambujeṣu te//*—*Pārameśvarāgama*, VI, 100.
50. *śaktīnāṃ parameśasya svabhāvaḥ*—ibid., 101.—The *śakti* in unique, but it contains the different constitutive elements of the Universe ; hence the plural.—Cf. *infra*, p. 84.
51. *tadekavad yaś śikhayeva vahniḥ.*—*IC.*, VI, p. 229, v. I.
52. *yathā śivas tathā devī yathā devī tathā śivaḥ/nānayor antaraṃ vidyāc candracandrikayor iva//*—*Śiva-Purāṇa* (ed. cit.), VII, 2, 4, 9.
53. *Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā* (ed. M. D. Rāmānujācārya, Adyar, Madras, 1916), III, 4 ; *Lakṣmī-Tantra* (ed. V. Krishnmacharya, Adyar, 1959), II, 11.
54. *MAEFEO.*, I, p. 71, st. I (*agnyuṣṇatāvat*).—Cf. *Śiva-dṛṣṭi* (ed, M. Kaul Śāstrī, KSTS., LIV, Srinagar, 1934), III, 7a.
55. See below, n. 61.
56. Cf. the Pāñcarātra : *Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā* (ed. cit.) III, 25-26 ; *Lakṣmī-Tantra* (ed. cit), II, 12 ff.—F. O. Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra, and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*, Adyar. 1916, p. 30.
57. *IC.*, I, p. 148, v. II (cf. *BEFEO.*, XXV, p. 311, v. III : *sā śaktiś śivasaṃgatodayakarī gaurī parā pātu vaḥ*).—Cf. *Śiva-Purāṇa* (ed. cit.), VII, 1, 15, 6 (*nityam īśvarapārśvagā*).
58. *IC.*, VI, p. 229, v. I.—Note the name Unmanā (cf. *IC.*, 1, p. 148, v. II), which reminds us of Manonmanī (below, n. 67). See also my *Recherches sur*

le vocabulaire des inscriptions sanskrites du Cambodge, BEFEO, LII, 1, pp. 15-16 & 34-35.

59. IC., II, p. 149, v. I,
60. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 89, v. VI.
61. Cf. *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* (Veṅkaṭeśvara ed., Bombay), III, 55, 4 ; MAEFEO., I, p. 72, v. V (*śakti-śaktimator vyaktaṃ bhedābhedau pradāya yo 'dhatta saṃpṛktam ekaṃ strīpuṃsayor vapuḥ*).—On the conception of androgynous God, see *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*, I, 4, 1-4 ; Manu, I, 32 ; *Kumāra-saṃbhava*, II, 7.—For a comparison of the Indian and the Christian data, see A. K. Coomaraswamy, "The Tantric Doctrine of Divine Biunity," *ABORI.*, XIX (1938-39), pp. 173-183, and, for a psychological explanation, C. G. Jung, *Psychologie et Religion* (tr. M. Bernson & G. Cahen, Paris, 1958), p. 53.
62. *IC.*, I, p. 163, v. II (=IV, p. 120, v. II) ; *BEFEO.*, XXV, p. 311, v. III.
63. *ekā 'nekasya rūpeṇa bhāti bhānor iva prabhā.—Śiva-Purāṇa*, (ed. cit.), VII, 2, 7, 1b.
64. In the Āgamic language, *aṇu* (=*paśu*) means "soul".
65. *IC.*, VI, p. 301, v. I.
66. Cf. S. N. Dasgupta, *loc. cit.*, p. 157 ; below, n. 78.
67. See *Saundarya-laharī* (ed. R. Anantakṛṣṇa Śāstrī & Karrā Rāmamūrthy Gāru, Madras, 1957), 34, with the commentary of Lakṣmīdhara.—It is sometimes spoken of nine *vyūhas* of Viṣṇu; e.g. *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* (ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1890), ch. 11 ; cf. J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht, 1954, p. 95.—One tradition connects Śiva's nine śaktis with his eight forms, considering the ninth *śakti*, Manonmanī, as the *parā śakti* : T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, 2 (Madras, 1914), pp. 398 ff. ; *Kālottara*, quoted in *Īśānaśivagurudeva-paddhati*, III (*TSS.*, LXXVII, Trivandrum, 1922), p. 46.—To the nine aspects of the *śakti* correspond nine aspects of Śiva : Vāma, Jyeṣṭha, etc.
68. *IC.*, VI, p. 301, v. II.
69. VII, 2, 7, beginning (ed. cit.).
70. *yathā kṣārādinā vaidyas tudann api na rogiṇam/koṭāv iṣṭārthadāyitvād duḥkhahetuḥ pratīyate//—Mṛgendrāgama* (ed. cit.), VII, 18.
71. See *Mṛgendrāgama*, VII, 11 ff. (cf. *vṛtti* on II, 3) ; *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha* (chapter entitled "Śaiva—darśana") ; T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *loc. cit.*, II, 1 (Madras, 1916), pp 10 ff.—Cf. F. O. Schrader, *loc. cit.*, pp. 114-116.
72. *IC.*, III, p. 182, v. I.
73. Cf. *Śiva-Purāṇa* (ed. cit.). VII, 2, 4, 13b : *ādyā saikā parā śaktiś cinmayī śivasaṃśrayā//*

74. *Ibid.*, 16.
75. *BEFEO*,, XII, 2, p. 8, vv. XVI-XVII.
76. See above, p. 83.—Cf. in this connection *Bhagavadgītā*, IX, 7-10 ; *Kumārasaṃbhava*, II, 13.
77. *yas tūrṇanābha iva tantubhiḥ pradhānajaiḥ svabhāvato deva ekaḥ svam āvṛṇot.* —*Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad*, VI, 10.
78. IC., IV, p. 89, v. VI ;

    vande bhavau bhuvanakāraṇam ekadehāv
    avyaktabuddhivad anekagatiprabhinnau/
    svargāpavargajanakāv iva dharmamārgau
    hṛdyau himādrikanakādrisamāgamābhau//

    bhuvanakāraṇam, *ekadehau*, see supra. p. 83
    svargāpavargajanakāv iva dharmamārgau : the allusion is to the two "paths of Dharma", namely the *karma-mārga*, "path of action", and the *jñāna-mārga*, "path of knowledge", which lead respectively to heaven (*svarga*) and to deliverance (*apavarga*). Śiva is *jñāna*, and the *śakti* is *kriyā*, *supra*, p. 84
    himādrikanakādrisamāgamābhau : allusion to the white colour (Himādri) of Śiva and to the golden colour (Kanakādri = the Meru) of Gaurī.
79. *BEFEO.*, XXV, p. 311, v. II ; *ISCC.*, XV, B, 1 ; *IC.*, V. p, 217, v. I.—The *praṇava*, or the sacred syllable *oṃ*, is the symbol of the cosmos.
80. *IC.*, I. p. 162, v. I (IV, p. 120, v. I) ; *BEFEO.*, XXV, p. 311, v. I.—Cf. the beginning of the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* ; *Maitri-Upaniṣad*, VI, 4 ; *Śvetāśvatara*—, 1, 7.
81. *IC.*, I, p. 162, v. I ; IV, p. 120, v. I.
82. I, 3, 7.—Cf. *Maitri-*, VI, 5 ; *Dhyānabindu-*, 9-12a ; *Nādabindu-*, 6b-7a (the last two in *The Yoga Upanishads*, edited by A. Mahādeva Śāstrī, Adyar, 1920).
83. *traiguṇyāḍhyaśikhīndubhāskarakarapradyotanodgīthajair*
    agryaiḥ padmajakañjadṛktrinayanair adhyāsitaiś śaktibhiḥ/
    saṃrodhasthitisaṃbhavātmaratayе bhinnas tridhaiko 'pi yas
    tasmai nityacite śivāya vibhave rājño 'rthasiddhyai namaḥ//(BEFEO.. XXV, p. 311, v. I).—Cf. also *IC.*, I, p. 77, v. II (Pre Rup) : *oṃkārād atanus tanoti jagatām eko 'pi janmasthitivyastīḥ* (reading corrected with the help of the facsimile in *Corpus*, VI, pl. CCLVI, 1. 2 ; *vyasti* is used here in the meaning of "dissolution" ; See my *Recherches sur le Vocabulaire...*, pp. 24 & 59).
84. IC., I, p. 77, v. III (*brāhmīm indau savitrīṃ savitari vitatāṃ vaiṣṇavīṃ pālanīṃ yad raudrīṃ saṃhārahetuṃ hutabhuji ca kalām arpayat triprakārām*).
85. Cf. *Maitri-Upaniṣad*, VI, 5 , *Dhyānabindu-*, 9-12a ; *Brahmavidyā-*, 4-6 (in

The Yoga Upanishads, Adyar) ; *Agni-Purāṇa* (Ānandāśrama ed., Poona), CCCLXXII, 23 ; *Liṅga-Purāṇa* (ed. cit.), I, 17, 60b-61.

86. *Maitri-Upaniṣad*, VI, 5 ; *Dhyānabindu-*, 12b-13a ; *Yogacūḍāmaṇi-*, 75-76a (in *The Yoga Upanishads*) ; *Agni-Purāṇa*, CCCLXXII, 23 ; *Liṅga-Purāṇa*, I, 70, 78 ; *Kumāra-saṃbhāvā*, II, 4.
87. *Brahmavidyā-Upaniṣad*, 7-8 ; *Yogacūḍāmaṇi-*, 85 ; *Liṅga-Purāṇa*, I, 17, 52-53a.
88. *ISCC.*, XV, A, 1 ; *BEFEO.*, XLIII, p. 76, v. II ; *IC.*, III, p. 106, v. IV ; VI, p 84, B, v. I, p. 230, v. IV.—Cf. *Liṅga-Purāṇa*, I, 75, 7, where we find an echo of the *Puruṣa-sūkta*.—It is the cosmic light of God that is represented by the triad, Sun, Moon, and Fire : cf. *Bhagavadgītā*, XV, 12.—If in the old Vedic tradition, the Sun is the eye of the cosmic Puruṣa, later on, Sun Moon, and Fire, or Sun and Moon, according to the cases, are considered as the eyes of God identified with the Puruṣa. Thus, in the *Bhagavadgītā* (XI, 19), Viṣṇu, in his cosmic, universal aspect (*viśvarūpa*), has for his eyes the Sun and the Moon. Cf. *Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad*, II, 1, 4.
89. *IC.*, I, p. 77.
90. *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* (ed. cit), III, 46,8.—Cf. P. Mus, "Has Brahmā four faces ?", *JISOA.*, V (1937), pp. 60 ff.—See also, in relation to Brahmā, *IC.*, IV, p. 21, v. IV ; V, p. 136, v. II.
91. See *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, III, 1-4.
92. *BEFEO.*, XXV, p. 311, v. II.—See also *BEFEO.*. XII, 2, p. 16, v. XVI ; XXXII, p. 98 ; *IC.*, V, p. 251, v. VIII ; VI. p. 134, v. VII.
93. *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, I, 3, 7 ; *Maitri-*, VI, 5 ; *Dhyānabindu—*, 9-12a ; *Brahmavidyā-*, 4-6 ; *Agni-Purāṇa*, CCCLXXII, 23 ; *Vāyu-Purāṇa* (Anandāśrama ed.), XX, 6 ; *Liṅga-Purāṇa*, I, 17, 56.
94. *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, I, 3, 7 ; *Dhyānabindu-*, 9-12a.—Cf. *Aitareya- Brāhmaṇa*, V, 32.
95. *IC.*, I, p. 77, V. II.
96. *Ibid.*, III, p. 176, vv. II & III (cf. p. 178, n. 1).—Cf. A. Bergaigne, "Une nouvelle inscription du Cambodge", *JA.*, 1882 (1), pp. 208-232 (important commentary).
97. *Maitri-Upaniṣad*, VI, 22-23.—Cf. *Amṛtabindu-Upaniṣad*, 16-17 (in *The Yoga Upanishads*, Adyar).
98. V. III.
99. Vv. IV-VI.
100. *Loc. cit.*
101. *Liṅga-Purāṇa* (ed. cit.), I, 75, 18 ff.
102. *atha yo 'nyāṃ devatam upāste 'nyo 'sāv anyo 'ham asmīti na sa veda.*—Cf. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Transformation of Nature in Art*, Harvard Univ.

Press, 1934 (repr. "Dover Publications" New York, 1956), pp. 5 ff. (also p. 165).

103. *BEFEO.*, XXV, p. 311, v. II.

104. *IC.*, I, p. 77, v. II.

105. *Supra*, p. 79.

106. *namaś śivāyātmavidān dadhānaṃ*
yogaṃ mano yatra bibharty abhedam/
ghaṭāmbudhinyastam udanvadambu-
rāśāv ivānekarasaprabhinnam//—*IC.*, III, p. 46, v. I.

107. *IC.*, III, P. 106, v. II ; V, p. 251, v. I.

108. *Ibid.*, I p. 62, v. II.

109. The two heptads of worlds are the seven upper worlds and the seven lower worlds. See e.g. *Āruṇeya-Up.* 1 (in *Thirty-two Upaniṣads Ānandāśrama-Poona*).

110. See F. D. K. Bosch; *De gouden kiem*, Amsterdam-Brussels, 1948, pp. 236-239.—An English edition of this valuable book (*The Golden Germ*) appeared in the Hague in 1960.

111. *Harṣa-carita*, śl. 1.

112. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *loc. cit.*, II, 2 (Madras, 1916), p. 364.

113. Cf. *Arts asiatiques*, IV, 3 (1957), p. 212.

114. F. D. K. Bosch, *loc. cit*,, pp. 97-99.

115. The materials for the present paper have been drawn from my book already referred to above : *Les religions brahmaniques dans l'ancien Cambodge, d'après l'épigraphie et l'iconographie* (Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. XLIX, Paris, 1961). The Vaiṣṇava speculations are discussed there, pp. 97ff. I hope to publish soon a work on Buddhism in ancient Cambodia. My translation of several verses quoted above sensibly differs from the French translation of my *guru*, Prof. George Cœdès. But I did not indicate the divergencies here, because they have no great interest for the readers in English.

I am happy to offer this paper to Prof. Majumdar whose books on the Indianized countries of South-East Asia for the first time aroused my interest in the subject.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI : *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
BEFEO : *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.*
Bijdragen . *Bijdragen tot de Taal—, Land-en Volkenkunde.*

Corpus : *Inscriptions du Cambodge, publiées sous les auspices de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris-Hanoi*, 1926-1937.

IC : G. Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge* (I-VI, Hanoi-Paris, 1937-1954).

IHQ : *Indian Historical Quarterly.*

ISCC : A. Barth & A. Bergaigne, *Inscriptions sanscrites de Campā et du Cambodge* (Paris, 1885-1893).

JA : *Journal asiatique.*

JAOS : *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*

JBRS : *Journal of the Bihar Research Society.*

JISOA : *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.*

KSTS : *Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies.*

MAEFEO : *Mémoires archéologiques publiés par l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* (I : *Le temple d'Iśvarapura*, Paris, 1926).

TSS : *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.*

Dr. Heinz Mode

FOLK-TALES OF INDIA & CEYLON

With a good deal of hesitation and reluctance I undertake to write this article, for I am aware, that much of what has to be said herein is well known and may seem boring to some, whereas other remarks might give cause for spirited refutation and thus hit back at the author. However the present situation of folk-tale-studies in India seems to be such that even an ungrateful task has to be undertaken for the sake of improvement. The necessity for this attitude is dictated by the international importance of Indian Folktale Research. India is not just one amongst many territories for the collection and study of folktales, but is generally admitted to be by far the most important one. Ever since it was discovered and proved that literary collections of tales of Indian origin had exercised a considerable influence upon the young national literatures of Europe, being transmitted, like the philosophical heritage of classical Greece, through near eastern, mainly Arabic, also Persian channels, studies of Indian literature and language received the greatest encouragement in all European countries, as also in the USA.

It was the German Indologist Theodor Benfey's unforgettable achievement to be the first scholar, who has given irrefutable evidence for this East-West connection in his translation of and commentary on the *Pañcatantra* which appeared in two volumes in Leipzig in the year 1859. There have been many attempts to shake this so-called 'Indian Theory' proposed by Benfey. Volumes of profound scholarship were published in support as well as in criticism of this theory by the most distinguished Orientalists, Indologists, Ethnologists and Folklorists. The results can easily be summed up and should be welcomed by everybody, whichever side he may have taken, if only he be interested in the progress of folktale studies.

The literary tale-collections of India, like the *Pañcatantra*, the *Kathāsaritsāgara* or the *Jātakas*, to name only some, have been critically edited with particular care. The study of European and Asiatic folktales has been intensified on a comparative basis in such a way, that an independent branch of literary studies developed as the science of 'Comparative Folktale Research'. Besides, a vast number of oral folktales have been collected and published from countries all round the world.

In the course of these efforts it was only natural, that much new material was added to what was known to Benfey. Some of these scholars' minor theories had of course to be abolished, like his proposed Buddhist origin of folktales, or a theory stressing Aryan creative power, propagated by Max Muller and his mythological school, yet the essential truth arrived at by Benfey still holds good. India has remained the country of folktales par excellence, has remained the land, where the greatest number of the best known folktales were found in literary versions from the earliest periods. And even the quality of these Indian stories withstood the onslaught of their critics : the Indian versions in some of the literary collections remained to be considered the best told and the best argued, of most perfect construction and polished completeness, excelling in wit, keen observation and high appreciation of human values.

If we turn from the general to the particular, to the field of folktale research done in India itself, an unjustified discrepancy has unfortunately to be observed. Even in the latter half of the 19th Century, when this type of research work started in India, we find mainly the names of English civil servants and their wives and of European missionaries. Looking through folktale-bibliographies I find at a rough estimation more than twice as many European as Indian names during this period. But this percentage would be even less favourable, if the size, accuracy and importance of the folktale-collections were to be judged.

There is another observation, also arrived at from 'rough statistics'. This refers to the periodisation of our type of studies in India, the difference between 'the good old time' and the modern period. For various reasons, later to be exemplified, I would select the year 1920 as a dividing line, the date being roughly initial for the appearance of 'Man in India', a periodical where much of the modern folklore material of India is published. I should not hesitate to state that far more important materials were published in the earlier period and that there is only a comparatively slight increase of Indian scholarship during the modern period. And again, as for the quality of collections and treatises, it would seem that the older ones prove greater, and compiled with far more devoted care and accuracy. With a few exceptions, the publications of the modern period are satisfied with the reproduction of the very narratives, abstaining in most cases from qualified commentaries, general treatises on folktale studies being rare and not seldom superficial.

Of course this type of statements should be taken with caution for all they are worth. Books and papers contained in folktale bibliographies are almost exclusively those published in European languages, mostly in English. I am fully aware, that there exists a bulk of literature on the subject written in Indian languages. Yet these materials have not been utilised for the general research and there does not even exist an estimation of the value of such publications in any European language.

Again, we have to differentiate between two distinct branches of folktale research within the Indian territories. The one referring to the great Indo-Aryan

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and Dravidian linguistic spheres, the other to such languages even now used in tribal societies all over India. It is the latter branch of studies which is much preferred in the modern period of folktale research in India, as best indicated by the character of the paper already named, 'Man in India'. The reasons are obvious. We have already stated, that the literary traditions of India are studied with great care and increasing interest and that the literary versions of folktales form an important section of these efforts. As this refers to the literary heritage of the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages the oral tradition of this sphere has come to be neglected. On the other hand more interest is shown to collect and fix the oral literature of such societies, where such materials are the sole basis for linguistic and historical studies. Thus it is not really surprising, that the tribal lore from Assam, from Santal, Munda, Oraon and other Central Indian territories form the overwhelming mass of all available Indian folktale materials.

Understandable as this situation is, it is not without dangers for an estimation of the whole history of Indian literary development. The changing influences and connections between the classical literature and the oral or folk traditions cannot be fully studied if the latter are not fully known. This danger will be better realised if we compare the situation in Europe, where tribal lore is extinct (or extremely rare) and where the oral traditions of past stages of society-development have to be traced through the folk-literature mostly of the peasant communities. That was proved possible and has been fully utilised in the research work done about the history of European national literatures. Apart from the abundance of tribal lore in India, the situation in this country is even far better suited for similar researches, as the peasant communities here play a highly important role even to-day.

If we turn therefore to the non-tribal peasant lore of India, it makes us sad to state, that it has been made available mainly in the early stages of folklore research in India. Beginning with Miss Frere's book 'Old Deccan Days' published not even ten years after Benfey's *Pañcatantra*, in 1868, there was a spate of Indian folktale publications. As far as territories are concerned, Bengal holds definitely the first place, the Punjab, Kashmir and the Deccan being next in favour. Along with the Bengal folktales we find the best collections, outside India proper, in Ceylon, yet closely connected with the trends of Indian social and cultural life. We shall see at a later occasion, that this pre-eminent position of Bengal and Ceylon in the field of folktale-research is not accidentally caused but is of a deeper meaning and revealing importance.

In an article published in 1919, the American scholar Norman Brown had given a sort of resume of what we called the first period of Indian folktale research ('*Pancatantra* in Modern Indian Folklore' JAOS XXXIX, 1919, p. lff). But whereas Norman Brown traced literary materials in oral tales, an excellent French folklorist, Emmanuel Cosquin, utilised the growing body of Indian oral tales for his studies on comparative folktale research (cp. f. e. 'Les Contes Indiens et l' Occident', Paris 1922, published as a collection of single articles, written since 1913). Thus two scholars approached the field from two directions, the Indologist choosing the approach of classical Indian literature, the folklorist stressing the aspect of Indian oral traditions for the purpose of the explanation of coincidences in east-western fiction. It may be noted, that the dividing line we have chosen above, the year 1920, receives a further confirmation of its value, with the two publications just quoted, the work of two eminent scholars, surveying upon the material of a whole period.

Norman Brown mentions the number of Indian oral tales known to him at that time as about 3000. But the name 'oral tales' does not rightly apply to all the 3000 stories. Some of the collectors, and Norman Brown accuses especially 'the natives of the country', have offended in directly translating from literary collections, instead of recording collected oral lore. But whereas Norman Brown condemns such acts of wilful offence, he claims that even many of the other tales, at least half of them, can be shown to be derived from literary sources, even though they be collected orally. The results are summarised with the words : "This statement means that in the highly literary, altho illiterate, land of India oral tradition has in some cases become gradually poorer until it has died, and has later been reborn from literature. In other cases stories have in all likelihood been carried by literary means to places where they did not exist previously, and have thus been implanted in the folklore."

Although the author admits that in the remote past many stories had their origin among the illiterate folk he is not concerned in the detailed study of such stories. One remark however has to be singled out, as it is valuable for our further considerations. Norman Brown, though with some hesitation, names such types of folktales, which to him seem independent of literature. He says : "All cummulative stories, most cosmological myths, the majority of place, but not hero, legends, many fairy stories and Marchen, and a large number of drolls, seem original among the folk." Here we may immediately notice, that Norman Brown does not differentiate within the mass of oral materials the source from which they were derived. Some of the categories mentioned in the above quotation are typical of the tribal lore, especially the cosmological myths and the place legends. Thus the conclusions, however interesting they may be in regard to the influences excercised by literary works like *Pañcatantra* or *Hitopadeśa* on oral tales, do not permit us to judge the historical results of such connections and even less the special qualities and merits of Indian oral tales.

In this respect the work of Emmanuel Cosquin, that of a folklorist proper, is much more conclusive. He is one of the first to compare Indian oral tales with each other. This elementary folkloristic method of noting and critically examining the variants of a story has been practised already by the Grimm brothers, their edition of a limited number of German folktales, being only an extract of so many more stories, reduced to the value of the best tradition. Disgarded or corrupt versions had been pushed out of the collection proper and placed along with notes and commentaries, not to be lost, but also not to misguide the general reader. Of course this method is best suited for the organising work of the first collector and in the hands of a later comparative research worker it is only of limited utility. Yet Cosquin made use of it, wherever he found the material, but it is sad to say, this method has hardly been utilised by the collectors of Indian materials. There are far more collections of Indian tales not even indicating the place of origin of a story, than there are publications approaching the requirements of a critical edition, even in the early period of folktale research in India. It is almost superfluous to say, that a corpus of Indian oral materials, as it exists for practically all European countries has not been achieved up to now. Paradoxical as it may sound the country that has created an 'ocean of stories', has created almost a vacuum for comparative studies based on oral tradition. Like the late-born youngest prince in the folktales, this youngest child of folk-narrative has here been regarded as poor, lame and miserable by his haughty royal brothers, may be even as clad in a monkey skin. Yet it is just this pitiable figure, which turns out to be the real hero of the story, the happy ending being dependant on his achievements. Our comparison with the general trend of such fairy tales goes even so far, that there has been a similar type of sneering comment, of attempts to belittle and ridicule the very existence of this poor child, in the criticism about Indian oral tales, offered by some European scholars. I would just remind the reader of a recension of Jacobs' 'Indian Fairy Tales' published by the well known Indologist, A. Weber, in which this distinguished scholar gives the opinion, that only the literary versions could be appreciated, whereas the oral tales to his mind reflected the mentality of half-educated and Christianised Indian ayahs. He therefore warns the reader to take the book title only 'cum grano salis' (cp. Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde, 1893, p. 108). Weber's opinion must testify here for many similar voices. Even the eminent Sinologist Alfred Forke, writing a booklet on 'Indian Fairy Tales' condemns scholars like R. Köhler and E. Cosquin for trusting modern Indian tales, which do not prove anything, because they could as well have been brought from Europe to India ('Die indischen Märchen' und ihre Bedeutung für die vergleichende Märchenforschung', Berlin 1911). Opposing the 'Indian Theory' Forke, ignoring the Indian oral tales completely, refers to the literary versions in a manner hardly excusable : "Their Fairytales are not so divine, that they could have extinguished the old national fairytales of all nations. Just the contrary, they are much more unwieldy and silly, as those of the cultured nations of Europe. They are lacking for instance the native phantasy, the poesy and the 'Gemüt' of German fairytales."

Now it is certainly true, that collections like M. Stokes 'Indian Fairy Tales, depending entirely on the talk of *ayahs*, betray features of mixed origin. Some of the fair and blonde royalties, much of the Sahib's power and the despise of the poor may be explained on the basis of an *ayah's* mentality, serving at a European home. Yet even these stories, if compared with others from oral collections, prove, if not in every detail, but in the general outline of the narrative, beyond doubt the Indian origin. Though frequently misquoted as representing north-Indian, or even Punjabi tales (cp. Thompson-Balys, *Oral Tales of India*, regional bibliography) the Stokes collection is especially valuable for our knowledge of Bengal folk-tales, versions of which the majority of stories represent, as had already been realised by Emmanuel Cosquin in his publications (cp. 'Contes Indiens', 1922, p. 99).

Remembering Norman Brown's summary about the independant types of Indian oral tales we may also refer to the opinion of Emmanuel Cosquin as being evidently in agreement. Cosquin uses for his comparisons mainly the fairytales or 'Märchen', the most significant category of oral tales, which in the German language is even used as a general designation for the whole family of fictitious folk-tales, as for instance, by the Grimm brothers.

A majority of the fairytales of India are represented in the Bengal tale-collections of Lal Bihari Day, of Dakshinaranjan Majumdar, of Upendrakishore Roychowdhury, of Bradley-Birt, of Dammant in the 'Indian Antiquary', of M. Stokes, to name only the best known collectors and editors. Again it was Bengal, where the only publication comparable to those mentioned above has appeared : Dineshchandra Sen's Study of the Folkliterature of Bengal. This great scholar, devoted to the peasant literature of Bengal, even as a professor of Calcutta University did not forget the social and cultural surroundings of his youth and succeeded in discoveries far more important for the study of Indian folklore traditions, than even now is realised. We are not concerned here with his edition of Bengal Ballads, although they definitely have some bearings on the Bengal folktales as well. But Dineshchandra Sen from some insignificant editions of Bengal tales told by Muslim narrators and from the highly important collections of Dakshinaranjan Majumdar succeeded for the first time to draw up an outline of the character and special quality of Bengal fairy tales, with the knowledge of a scholar and the instinct of one truly rooted in the creative atmosphere of the peasant society of his country. It may be remarked too, that Dineshchandra's publication is dated 1920, and we thus for the third time can verify this date as to be of singular importance.

So far our remarks were more or less directed to the work done in the earlier period of Indian folktale research and if we now turn to the later period we cannot but be disappointed. There are a couple of new journals, a few laborious writers like Sarat Chandra Mitra, the titles of whose articles would fill a complete bibliography, a handful of young scholars offering dissertations on folklore of particular regions, but where are the glorious names of the earlier period, men of the keen enthusiasm and merit of D. C. Sen or D. R. Majumdar ? Their works have been republished but that is about all. Nobody has consciously enlarged on their pioneer efforts. To the very contrary, there are authors, even in the field of Bengal Literature, who dare leave a name like D. C. Sen's unmentioned in a 200 page volume on 'Bengali Literature'. No need to point out, that also the name of Dakshinaranjan Majumdar is looked for in vain in such books, the authors of which consider themselves to be very new-fangled or progressive !

Yet on the other front of folktale research there have been great achievements. The outstanding authority to be named here is Verrier Elwin, a scholar who has published many articles and monographs on Orissan and North-Eastern Frontier triballore, fully up to the standard of modern folktale research. Other names could easily be added to indicate the keen interest that has been taken in recent years in the study of primitive Indian societies. But as has been shown above, we cannot consider such work as representative in the full sense of Indian folktale research. Valuable and interesting as this work proves to be, it does not touch our main issue in the centre, but merely on the periphery. I hope nobody will misunderstand the meaning of this statement. It refers not to persons and their scholarship, the latter is beyond doubt and would be difficult to match anywhere else in the world of present-day folklore scholarship, but to the field of research, to the selection of the subject-matter in relation to the complex of Indian folklore as a whole.

Indian folktales, as originally understood from the literary collections, and later enriched by the publications of oral tales, cannot be limited down to tribal lore, excluding the overwhelming mass of materials, not yet harvested, from the teeming villages in the entire Indian subcontinent. The rich development of more than five thousand years of history, these villages have lived through, cannot be ignored for the sake of a minority of more or less primitive survivals. There is only this question of obvious disproportion and not the slightest intention to belittle the value of tribal materials, for it should always be realised, that even fullfledged peasant communities look back on a heritage of earlier tribal past, as has been pointed out by many folklore scholars, mainly belonging to the so-called 'anthropological school' represented by Andrew Lang and Mac Culloch amongst many others. It has long been recognised that there was interconnection of many types during the long history of India between all the people living on its territory, especially between the immediate neighbours, though they may have been of very different social standing. Norman Brown has given many examples from Santal and other communities, showing the influence from outside, Indian and even foreign sources. Yet such contacts should not be overestimated, and, to say the least, could only be correctly estimated, if all materials were fully available.

Here the theoretical position of some representatives of the ethnographical-anthropological school should be rejected. This position is proclaimed by Franz Boas with the words: "I am inclined to consider the folk-tale primarily and fundamentally as a work of primitive art". If Boas has pointed out on the analysis of American material that complex stories are new and that the really old parts of tales are the incidents and a few simple plots, we could even agree with the argument without accepting the conclusion. All literature, everywhere in the world, written down or orally transmitted, is continuous, but that is a platitude and gives no indication to values, to periods and provinces of special creative prominence whatsoever. Every historical period is of interest, the earliest as much as the latest. But it amounts to a mystic veneration of the past to identify the most primitive with the most significant and endow it with unchangeable qualities. In all branches of literary studies it has been a practice to look for models and traditions, the creations of genius like Shakespeare or Goethe making no exception. But who would worship the old Faust stories and disregard Goethe? There is no necessity to measure folk-tales with other standards. Why should a beautiful fairy-tale of complex form be disregarded, merely because some of its incidents find a predecessor in some barbaric myths?

If we recognise the progressive factor in historical and cultural development, if we are interested in the cultural situation of our day, we have to analyse the latest developments as well as all the elements of older culture underlying it. In India we are mainly concerned with the materials of historical India, the India known to manifest itself to our present knowledge for the first time in the third millenium B.C. in the northwestern and adjoining territories in the form of a countryborn city culture, known to us as the Harappa culture. Village cultures have been at the basis of this first Indian state and ever since, through archaeological and literary materials, village life has been proved to be the stabilising factor in this period of Indian history, up to the moment when modern industrial development creates a new situation also for the countryside. These five thousand years of the history of Indian villages are not identical with Indian history in general, and certainly do not represent its progress, especially in the later periods. But they comprise the overwhelming mass of the Indian people, run parallel to the quicker and irregular changes in the cities and royal provinces;

—the changes from societies based on slavery towards feudalism influenced by invasions, political strife between the provinces, and lasting foreign domination. Thus the student of Indian history has to direct his attention towards both factors, the slow moving stabilising factor of peasant life, and the uninterrupted chain of events, representing the life of Indian cities and courts. It may be added here that tribal societies play a distinct role, as unassimilated survivals of an earlier past and may well be regarded as a third, though less important, factor.

Often enough this complex historical situation has been misunderstood, peasant and tribal life being brought out of focus by the historical source materials. The straight information such materials convey is normally one-sided. Impressive architectural remains, sculptures of an unearthly beauty, elaborate treatises and fiction, epics and religious hymns, coins and lengthy inscriptions mostly come from not of the peasant communities, but from the small groups of the ruling classes, representing princely courts, wealthy citizens and—occasionally—leading representatives of the countryside. Thus Indian history understood through such materials is somewhat out of proportion. The vast discrepancy between the relatively small groups represented by such historical sources, and scarcity of materials immediately belonging to the overwhelming majority of the population of India can neither be ignored nor taken at its face value. The situation has to be recognised and ways and means have to be found to reduce the wrong proportions. We need not deal with the many possibilities to do so, which it should be pointed out have already been and are increasingly utilised. Many of the historical source materials mentioned above, if critically interpreted, reflect the life of the people ; the Buddhist sculptures of Bharhut, Bodhgaya and Sanchi as much as the epics and other fiction. Modern archaeology has helped a great deal to discover materials from the ground, often poor in appearance but priceless in revealing facts about the actual life of the people. All these methods and means can here only be hinted at, as they have no direct bearing on our subject. They are mentioned here for the sole reason that nobody may accuse us of being unaware about all these efforts.

We are mainly concerned here with the folktales, the very name indicating their immediate connection with the people. For some of my readers it may be surprising to hear that folktales, fairy-tales or Märchen are here spoken of as a source material for historical studies. What has this gay, narrative art, these stories without time and place, meant to amuse women and children, to do with history ?

No definition of history need be given here. Suffice it to say that it cannot be limited down to mere political facts. The socio-economical development cannot be isolated, but has to be considered together with the cultural development. In the latter connection the oral lore must be considered as the most expressive and reresentative creative activity especially of such communities, limited in their artistic scope by illiteracy, limited in their social life to a local and comparatively unchanging background, in their economy to a more or less selfsufficient life of agricultural and related activities. On the other hand, corresponding to this particular setting, the folktales as a true art and fiction add on to the limited basis the rich and far stretched realm of creative phantasy, thus factually enlarging on the real world of human contacts with the surrounding nature, with animals and plants, spiritually enlarging on prevailing fears and superstitions, caused by ignorance and resulting in the creation of a host of spirits, good and evil, and finally enlarging morally on all injustices of society life by wishful thinking and always successful heroic achievements.

Thus our folktales are the artistic outlets of a comparatively backward society and as such, as all art materials, of primary historical value. It needs no special stressing to remark that they contain next to all those phantastic features many details of a realistic reflection of the rural people's life and habits. But whereas the true artistic character of a fairytale can never change, for if it has changed, it has also ceased to be a fairytale, the details of the narrative not only can, but are bound to change uninterruptedly, for the oral tradition, not sanctified by strict adherence to religious laws but based on the creative imagination of the narrator, encourages this process of constant change (as opposed to the stabilising factor of literary fixation). It is the changing exterior of the folktales which makes their study at the same time difficult but also lucrative in the gain of knowledge about cultural materials of the past.

Since 1920, the period which we named the modern one in our scheme of rough periodisation of folktale-research in India, the rapid progress of historical research cannot be denied. One of the decisive factors for this progress was the field and spadework done by the archaeologists in India. The accurate and methodical work especially of the recent decades has proved that the Indian archaeologist masters his subject and that there is no need whatsoever for outside encouragement or guidance. Yet if we consider the efforts of the Archaeological Department in comparison with the educational success as to the historical consciousness of the general public, there is a discernible discrepancy. The Department publications are mostly done in English and in excellent standard. There is no reason, why this work should be criticised. Yet, under the peculiar circumstances of the present Indian situation, these scholarly publications do not reach the broader Indian public and fail to inform and influence it. But historical research and its results are meant to strengthen the cultural consciousness of the people. Thus efforts should be made that the results of archaeological studies and the archaeological methods and aims are popularised and the broadest possible readership is informed and enabled to understand all the newly discovered facts of Indian socio-economical and cultural history. This aim cannot be achieved mainly by English publications.

I have selected this example of archaeological-historical research to illustrate our general argument and also to contrast it to what has been stated above in regard to modern folklore research in India. Here the situation is almost reversed. Whereas there seems to be quite a number of valuable publications in the Indian national languages, there is comparatively little material published in English. This strange contrast is pointed out here to indicate the problems facing workers in different cultural fields. In the field of archaeology we marked the tendency to shut off a special branch of highly technical scholarship from the public, whereas in the field of folktale studies the popular and local response to familiar features is often thought to be detrimental to profound and skilled firstclass scholarship. In both cases such tendencies could prove to be a great hindrance to progress.

Not to be misunderstood, I would not call these tendencies conscious ones and I may have even exaggerated. These tendencies may appear to be noticeable merely to an outsider. But who objects to the criticism may be willing to admit the positive lesson to be drawn. The study of folktale has to be lifted to University standards and has to be made available in the English language. It has to be treated as a branch of historical research, and thus be made to serve in overcoming country superstitions and narrowness, just as the archaeological studies have to be made known to the broadest public to deepen the historical knowledge and to enable everyone to recognise the laws of historical development.

Archaeological and folklore research even meet in some particular fields and it might be of interest to point them out. As excavation of a site is neither merely a technical problem, nor a professionally isolated experiment, it should always be undertaken by the excavators in a lively spirit, fully conscious of all possibilities of a site, the buried and dead ones, as well as the living ones. The latter are usually represented by the people now living within the excavation area or near by, people who normally even partake in the excavation as local labour. But what is very often overlooked is the detailed study of the life of these people, of their habits and especially of their religious, cultural and narrative traditions, in short the study of the folklore of the place to be excavated. That this may turn out to be very important for the interpretation of the archaeological materials has been proved many times, for local traditions often prevail even if there are slight changes in the population. The close cooperation between archaeological and folkloristic research has been profitably practised in many European excavations. Local legends are abundant in India, but there are so far only a few instances where they have been collected in reference to archaeological work. Of course this type of research-work may fall out of line with the general training of the archaeologist in charge of an excavation. But additional training is always possible and practice will finally close the gap. The advantages of such combined efforts turning at the same time towards the dead and the living are obvious. The archaeologist studying the living population of his site helps at the same time to solve the problems mentioned above. He attracts the interest of the population in his work and thus create better conditions for his work to be understood. At the same time the newly won collections of folk-narratives will be welcomed by all folklore students.

There are other instances where archaeologists can supply materials to the student of folk literature. As all oral literature is limited to modern literary fixation, only comparatively few tales have been recorded by travellers. For comparative studies and historical research on the subject additional materials are needed. The older literary collections have already been mentioned. But tales can also be recorded by another medium. There are *Jātaka* tale recordings in early Buddhist sculpture, and it has already been pointed out that differences between such illustrations and the available texts indicate variants of an earlier date. But there are the early historical periods, where even the earliest literary fixations are not yet available. Seals and vase paintings of the Harappa period have been found to display narrative scenes in pictorial form, all of which have to be examined in greatest detail as priceless witnesses in our field of study. Their interpretation though difficult and controversial, is a challenge to all serious research-workers as interesting and as important as many other unsolved historical problems.

One of the fragments of the Bharhut Vedika, which is kept in the collection of the Municipal Museum, Allahabad, has been described as depicting a group of acrobats. Thus, to quote Satish Chandra Kala (*Bharhut Vedika*, Allahabad 1951, p. 30) it has been said: "Pillar (stambha) (3 feet 4 inches × 1 foot 9·1/2 inches), showing in low relief an acrobatic scene. In the lowermost circular panel stand eight persons firmly holding each leg of the four persons above, (Ill. Nr. 1) who again support two in the same manner. These two persons hold each of the legs of the persons at the top firmly with both their hands. The man at the top has both his hands raised above his head. All the figures wear the same dress, a dhoti tied by a belt, pleated turbans, flat torques and long necklaces. A longish scarf is thrown round the shoulders of each and its ends fall on either side or in front. The face of the figure in the second row from the top is bent towards the left. On each of the levelled sides, on half blown lotus flowers stands a figure, one male the other a female. The figure on the left has folded hands while the right one holds some object in one of her lowered hands. The relief is damaged in certain places. On the pillar there is a damaged inscription which reads:

Pusadâtaya nagarikasa Bhikuniye
(Gift) of nun Pusyadattâ of Nagarika (?)

A similar inscription occurs in another pillar (stambha) at Bharhut (Barua and Sinha—*Bharhut Inscriptions*, Insc. 43).

The acrobatic scene depicted in the above pillar (stambha) is highly interesting. Scenes relating to acrobats and physical feats are extremely rare in the Buddhist monuments of India though there occur frequent references to these in the Jātakas (Fausboll—Jātakas II, 253, Vol. 81-82). A story goes to say that once the Bodhisattva had taken birth in the family of acrobats (Francis and Thomas—Jātaka Tales, p. 176). The word 'samāja' may also refer to some type of acrobatic exhibitions (Indian Antiquary, Aug. 1918, p 221). Some of the Jain texts give long lists of sports and games. The word 'laṅkhaga' referred in the Ardhamāgadhi Jain works was used for a particular type of *nats*. This subject falls in line with the scenes of wrestling and dancing depicted at Bharhut and fits very well in the artistic scheme of its railing. Dr. Barua says that this scene may refer to a mélā, held in connection with the celebration of the stūpa festival (thūpa maha)."

This much of the description, which may save us the detailed analysis of the general features of the sculpture, although it will be found necessary to observe some alterations. First I should like to mention, that this interpretation has been generally accepted (see for instance St. Kramrisch. *Indian Art*, Phaidon, fig 17 'acrobats'). Stella Kramrisch in the description of this sculpture (P. 199) specially points out, that acrobatic performances of this kind even today belong to the religious festivals in India, for instance in Orissa.

Without being an expert on acrobatic features and circus performances to my mind it seems to be obvious, that this group should not have been described from the bottom to the top, but rather from the top to the bottom ! It would thus have been made clearer, that the fifteen persons concerned, do not stand, but rather hang. With the firm grip of both hands, as has been pointed out, they rather secure a hold for themselves and not support the person or persons above them. The feet of the 'standing' persons do not touch the heads of the lower figures ! One may also describe the loose scarfs, as floating in the air, it seems to me.

Now all this may be in agreement with some acrobatic performance, but in that case it could hardly be a floor show, but rather a performance in the air, a show of flying acrobats. As far as I can see, the parallels quoted apply to performances of the type of the human pyramid, and we shall have the occasion later on in this article to meet with a group similar to this type. In the human pyramid man stand above each other, supporting themselves mainly with their shoulders. But I am not aware of trapeze acrobatics in early India. Thus the identification given above could not be valid and we must look out for a better explanation.

The topmost person of our group unfortunately is broken off at the upper part and we cannot make out for sure, if he holds on to something himself. In the explanation we want to give, this question is not decisive, as there are two possibilities for the attitude of the topmost person, who is evidently the main person, that of holding on to something, or that of letting go something.

One hundred years ago the German Indologist Albrecht Weber gave a monthly report to the Berlin Academy on some stories contained in the collection *Bharaṭakadvātrincikā*. One of these stories (Nr. 13) refers to the adventures of one of these bharaṭakas, or mendicants, in Sughoshagrāma. This mendicant named Sarvapaçu had a beautiful garden which he kept very carefully. But during the nights this garden was visited by the heavenly milkcow. Sarvapaçu witnessed the ruin of his garden with great distress. He therefore watched one night. He saw the cow and caught on to her tail. But the cow went up to heaven taking him along hanging to her tail. In heaven the mendicant got tasty cookeries to eat, and he took one cake called 'lions mane' along, holding again to the tail of the cow, as she was going down to earth. When he came back to his garden and his house, he explained to the other bharaṭakas where he had been : 'I have been to heaven and there I have seen Indra, Candra, Isvara, Vināyaka and others and have eaten cakes like this one.' And he showed his companions the one he had brought along. The others tried the cake and it stuck to their tongue, so well was it prepared ! They all begged Sarvapaçu to take them along to heaven. 'If I am, going to heaven' Sarvapaçu said, 'getting hold of the cow's tail, one of you has to get hold of my feet, the next one of his feet and so on'. Thus it happened and all, in a long chain, went up to the sky. But half way up, one of the bharaṭakas, the one hanging lowest, had some doubts and he asked : 'Are you sure ? Tell me again how big are the cakes we get in heaven ?' To answer him the topmost bharaṭaka let go off the cow's tail, spread his arms and said 'so big they are'. At that time all fell down and were killed.

With some slight alterations the same story appears in Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* (cp. J. Hertel, *Bunte Geschichten vom Himalaja*, München 1903, p. 169. *Kath.* LXV, 177ff). Here the flying animal is Shiva's bull, destroying the embankment of a tank with its horns. Both versions of the story compare well with our Bharhut sculpture, if one makes allowance for the pictorial change of the chain of airgoers into the described pyramidal arrangement, an improvement on the literary versions. The topmost person can thus be interpreted either as holding on to a cow's or bull's tail, or as just spreading his arms to illustrate the size of the cake, a feature significant in this story.

It could be asked what reasons the Buddhist artists could have had to illustrate this story. It is of course well known that many of the Jātakas are pictured at Bharhut. But so far as I am aware this particular tale is not contained in the Jātaka collections. But there are other medallion reliefs from Bharhut, which have so far not been identified and it would seem quite possible that the Jātaka collection of 547 stories, as it is known to us, has not preserved some of the original stories, known to the Bharhut artists round about 600 years earlier. Besides the texts contain many repetitions and may therefore also show omissions.

The possibility should not be excluded, that a story of the type illustrated by our example was part of the original Jātaka collection. On the other hand the story, as it was told above, seems to be of far more recent date. The very form of the tale, although it contains a moral (pointed out in verse) goes against the Jātaka type, as it leaves no space for the appearance of the Buddha in one of his former births. Of course this characteristic feature could have easily been added to the stroy and we shall soon see, that this can be proved by a very close parallel. If we look for a person representing the Bodhisattva, this could well be the Yaksha standing on a lotus in our pictorial version.

If we look out for parallels to our tale of the talkative fool falling in the attempt to fly, we immediately are reminded of the much better known animal version of the story, which seems also to be the more original, if we trust the natural logic of the events related here. This story is known under the name of 'The talkative Tortoise' or 'The Tortoise and the Geese' and is actually contained in the Jātaka collection and even well illustrated on the railing pillars from Bodh Gaya (Kacchapa Jātaka Nr. 215 ; Coomaraswamy, *Bodh Gaya* Pl. LVIII, 3)(Ill. Nr. 2). The Jātaka has two parts, the frame-story in which figures the king Brahmadatta of Benares and the Bodhisattva, who at that time was the king's minister. Because the king was very talkative, his minister tells him a short moral story : the tale of the talkative tortoise. As retold by H. T. Francis and E. J. Thomas the story runs thus :

"There dwelt a tortoise in a certain pond in the region of Himalaya. Two young wild geese, searching for food, struck up an acquaintance with him ; and by and by they grew close friends together. One day these two said to him : 'Friend Tortoise, we have a lovely home in Himalaya, on a plateau of Mount Cittakūṭa, in a cave of gold ! Will you come with us ?' 'Why,' said he, 'how can I get there ?' 'Oh, we will take you, if only you can keep your mouth shut, and say not a word to anybody.' 'Yes, I can do that,' said he, 'take me along !' So they made the Tortoise hold a stick between his teeth : and taking hold of the two ends they sprang up into the air. The village children saw this, and exclaimed—'There are two geese carrying a tortoise by a stick !' (By this time the geese flying had arrived at the space above the palace of the king at Benares.) The Tortoise wanted to cry out— 'Well, and if my friends do carry me, what is that to you, you caitiffs ?'—and he let go the stick from between his teeth, and falling into the open courtyard he split in two."

As compared to the story acted by human characters, this animal tale sounds much less artificially constructed. The flight of the birds is natural as against the marvellous feature of a cow or bull going to heaven. The motivation to tempt an otherwise non-flying animal to fly along seems somewhat farfetched in our Jātaka. Why should the tortoise be longing for a golden cave in the Himalaya ? But there are other versions of the same story, where the motivation is much clearer and seems to approach the original wording. In the collection of Chinese recensions of Sanskrit Avadānas, translated by St. Julien, the motive for the geese's departure is given as the drying up of the pond, where they and the tortoise dwell together. Thus their friend the tortoise would have been in great danger if left behind, and their proposal to take him along is an act of friendship.

We do not here intend to give a full bibliography of this story and of its appearance in so many tale collections of East and West. We rather refer to its popularity by a few examples of illustrations (Ill. Nr. 3). The first parallel is drawn from an illustration of Kalilawa Dimna, a manuscript from Herāt dated 1430, and kept in Istanbul. Here the scene depicted is very similar to the Jātaka text, and this is only natural, for the manuscript text is derived from another collection of Indian tales, the *Pañcatantra*. Our next illustration goes back to the same Indian source, but is found in an old German book 'Das Buch der Wessheit' printed in Ulm in the year 1483, only 53 years later (Ill. Nr. 4). The woodcut shows the geese flying up taking the tortoise along, while two other tortoises are seen left behind. This must indicate the beginning of the flight. Another German book, a collection of fables (Ch. J. Stumpf, *Fabeln*, Würzburg 1802) transfers the scene to a German village (Ill. Nr. 5). And finally the magnificent print from Grandville's, the great French artist of the 19th Century, illustration of the La Fontaine fable, is chosen because it gives a vivid impression of the talkative fool's end (Ill. Nr. 6).

To return to the so called 'acrobats group' from Bharhut, we may now be fairly certain, that it represents the human-acted version of the story of the talkative fool, the moral being well known in early India, and the peculiarities of the picture being best explained in the terms of the sad experience of this first attempt to conquer the space above. In our age of cosmic flights this story is even of special historical interest. We may also conclude from this short survey of pictorial representations, that it would be an attractive task, just as it has already been done for the stories, to detect the pictorial evidence for the travels of early Indian tales on their way to the west.

But Bharhut, it has been said above, does not mark the beginning of pictorial representations of Indian tales. In an article published in 'Indian Folklore' I have tried to trace folktale motives from the Mohenjo Daro and Harappa seals (Vol. II,I. January-March 1959, p. 10ff). I am grateful to Shri S. R. Rao of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, for pointing out a further instance and supplying me with a photograph (Ill. Nr. 7). A vase recently excavated at Lothal a characteristic vessel of the Harappa period, depicts within a rectangular frame what seems to be the illustration of an animal story. (cp. 'Indian Archaeology' 1959/60, p. 18). Two birds sit on a tree, the one holding a leaf, the other a fish in its beaks. Below the tree, unfortunately partly broken off, can be seen the hindpart of a fourfooted animal. Now this combination is too wellknown from later fable literature not to be immediately recognised as resembling the story of Monsieur Renard (the fox) cheating the crow or raven by flattering him and making him talk, thus letting fall the cheese so far kept in his beak. The particular food and the particular animals may change, but we recognise here again a version of the talkative fool, only that this time it is only the loss of his food, but not of his life, with which he pays for his foolishness. This story is also illustrated at Bharhut, but here the cat and the cock are the acting characters (Kukutta Jātaka Nr. 383) (Ill. Nr. 8). In this Buddhist version the cock proves to be more clever, as the cat fails to cheat him. Again a parallel may be given from a European version, a German woodcut from Zalner's edition of Aesopian fables, published in Augsburg in 1475 (Ill. Nr. 9).

Another type of contacts between archaeological and folklore research, so to say on neutral ground, can be observed in the field of folkart. Pictorial folkarts, in contrast to oral tales, cannot only be traced through, but are actually well documented in many monuments of the past. Sometimes these monuments are not old enough to attract the full attention of the antiquity minded research workers. Here I should like to select examples from the terracotta temples of Bengal, a group of monuments of particular shape and quality, built mostly in the 17-19th Centuries and richly decorated with sculptured terracotta panels. Recently this art has come into fashion, but even such preference has not led to a scientific study but rather to wildest pillage of the unprotected monuments. As for the older histories of Indian Art and Sculpture, most of them prove deadly silent about this subject, and only a couple of books and hardly a dozen papers could be named dealing with the subject, mostly in very superficial fashion. Recently some of the monuments have been taken into archaeological protection, but as this was done without much explanation, even the people living nearby hardly realise why this has been done. The narrative art of the terracotta panels, though directed towards religious and classical topics, the scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa being much preferred, contains numerous illustrations of the village life, minor scenes and smaller episodes of local interest, occasionally even what seem to be pictorial tales. Again pictorial devices are chosen, which could be paralleled from earlier monuments, proving a long life in the traditional art of Indian sculptors and painters.

I select at random a few examples from the terracotta temples in Bishnupur in the Bankura District (Ill. Nr. 10). The scene where two armed men face a group of tigers, the latter consisting of four animals, a large beast placed in front, sheltering his young. We are reminded of the numerous fairytales of Bengal, where tigers play an important role, and one could imagine this to represent such a scene, as that of the young hero sent out to get tiger's milk for the queen, his wicked stepmother, who was in reality a demon, devouring in secrecy men and animals, but appearing in daytime in the guise of a beautiful woman (cp. M, Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, Nr. XXIV, p. 173 ff). The hero meets the tiger, tigress and two cubs and is given the milk and one of the cubs to accompany him to be of help in his further adventures.

Another terracotta panel from a Bishnupur temple depicts several scenes from a tiger hunt, the last on the right showing a tiger being taken away by two men, carrying him hanging down on a bamboo stick (Ill. Nr. 13). Here I want to draw attention to the groups preceding showing a man on a tree and a tiger below. Now it will be remembered, that this is a wellknown scene on Mohenjo Daro seals, and if we look at our groups from 17-18th Century Bishnupur we will easily discover the similarity in composition and pictorial construction with two seals of the third millenium BC from Mohenjo Daro (Ill. Nrs. 11, 12). The symmetrical group on the left, the tiger rolling below the tree as if hit by an arrow shot from above, matches the heraldic composition of a pipal tree and two unicorn heads. Here it is only the composition to be compared, the subject being entirely different. But in the second group, where a man on the tree faces the tiger marching past and turning the head back, even details like the tiger heads show a close similarity.

The following examples are chosen, as their subjects represent popular sports and village entertainments (Ill. Nr. 14). Wrestling as it is depicted in two groups of our Bishnupur terracotta panel was a popular sport even in the days of early pharaonic Egypt and of presargonid Sumer, as may be illustrated by a copper offer stand from Tell Agrab, its date being about the same as that of the Mohenjo Daro seals just considered (Ill. Nr. 15). Another parallel is selected from Ceylon, where Kandyan sculpture and paintings show many similarities to the Bengal terracottas (cp. Deraniyagala, *Some Sinhala Combative Field and Aquatic Sport and Games*, National Museum of Ceylon, 1959) (Ill. Nr. 16). This group of wrestlers from a wooden pillar at Embekke Devale of the 17th Century, as well as the Bishnupur groups of about the same date, do not directly illustrate folktales, but as will be shown later, correspond to many instances of this kind spoken of in such tales.

With the next and last panel from Bishnupur for the second time in this article we are dealing with 'acrobats groups' (Ill. Nr. 17). Here the figure of an elephant is displayed by a group of women, combining their bodies in a variety of positions. A wall painting from the Dalada Maligawa in Kandy, Ceylon, shows the same group formed by nine women, which seems to be the usual number of performers, also to be counted on the Bengal terracotta (Ill. Nr. 18).

From Ceylon, from the same Dalada Maligawa in Kandy we reproduce a sculptured stone, showing another group of such acrobatic women, this time in imitation of a tree, the woman sitting at the top being decorated with branches (Ill. Nr. 19). Normally such pictures are considered as decorative panels of symbolic value, but if checked against each other, and we could add quite a number of examples from Ceylon and also from South India, they all betray features of realism, which can only be explained on the assumption that actual performances of this type have taken place. Thus we come to the strange conclusion, to have explained the so called 'acrobats' from Bharhut as fools out of old Indian story books, only to replace this gap in the acrobat's profession by new documents, proving the existence of very similar performances, documents so far taken as representing semi-mythological subjects.

Repeatedly Ceylon materials have served us to clarify motifs of Indian folkart. Flourishing in the early colonial period these traditional arts in Ceylon and Bengal have died out in the British period and it is said that none of the craftsmen survive. Our comparison, though closely connected with the study of folktales in India and Ceylon, has of necessity led us a bit away into the realm of the pictorial arts and we now intend to return to the research work done in the field of oral literature. But here again we do well to compare the situation in Bengal with that in Ceylon.

Norman Brown in the article already quoted has given highest praise to the publications on Ceylon folktales, prominently those done by H. Parker. His three volumes of the *Village Folktales of Ceylon* published in the years 1910-1914 are pronounced to be 'undoubtedly the best collection of Indian folktales we have'. From this date we notice that they stand at the very end of the first and most fruitful period of folktale research. The collection of Parker alone contains 266 stories, and many variants of these stories are quoted by the author together with Indian and European parallels. This book may even now serve as a model for researchworkers, although of course for comparative purposes much new materials can be added. In Ceylon the Buddhist literary tradition has exercised a great influence on the oral lore. A large number of drolls, the witty tales of fools and wise men seem to be original and found special favour with the country folk.

In Bengal nothing comparable to the Parker volumes has been published. Even Dakshinaranjan Mitra Majumdar's collections fall back by far in regard to the quantity of materials. Yet it is possible to closely determine the peculiar character of Bengal folktales against the background of the Ceylon materials. The Ceylon favourites, the stories containing motives of tests and deception, the wise and the foolish, are also well represented in the Bengal collections. But far more characteristic for Bengal are the stories containing motives of magic power and transformation, of marvels and of rewards and punishments. Now these latter categories of tale-motives are those which are mostly cantaining in what we call the fairytales or 'Märchen'. They are by no means absent in Ceylon, but they do not play the leading role as in Bengal. Another observation may prove to be important. In the comparison with literary versions of older Indian collections, where, as we have already noticed, Ceylon tales are much dependent on classical Buddhist but also on other Indian traditions, Bengal in contrast is comparatively little engaged. The mass of the Bengal stories, mindful of the fact that these collections are not as numerous as those of Ceylon, are rather independent of the literary tradition and in a peculiar way original.

The great Dineshchandra Sen has pointed to this peculiarity with forceful enthusiasm in his studies on the folkliterature of Bengal. He marks out two categories, the *rūpakathās* and the *gītikathās*, the fairytales proper and fairytales of a peculiar type. The latter are lengthy and novel-like tales, characterised by a leading female, a heroine, who by moral strength and physical hardships in defence of her husband or beloved dominates the plot of the tale. Now this exceptional role played by girls and women, as witnessed in the *gītikathās* is an amazing feature. In the village society of Bengal it corresponds to the peculiar position of women, but in the way of opposites, their repression in real life being transformed towards heroical success in fiction. We must never forget, that it is the fairytale that serves this purpose best, that this tale always ends well, and where heroes and heroines overcome unbelievable difficulties. Thus the fairytale could well serve as a comfort to the poor and suppressed, stopping their tears and strengthening their determination to endure their own unbearable hardships.

Thus it would be entirely wrong to consider the fairytales or Märchen as tales meant only for the entertainment of children. They were told by grown-ups to grown-ups, as is even reported in those very tales (cp. for instance the 'Malanchamala' of Dakshinaranjan Mitra Majumdar's collection, where a queen is told *rūpakathās* by a *mālinī*, a woman gardener). As a proper study of these tales has not yet been undertaken, it would be premature for us to go into details at the time general problems are discussed. Yet I would believe that in these tales are contained numerous features of greatest interest for the study of literature, Indian as well as comparative literature in general. It is for instance very interesting to note, that death, as a means of dramatic climax has often lost its meaning in these stories. Life can be restored so easily, that in one of the tales the girl threatened by death, just calls out : Oh, you can kill me as often as you like, I will be revived again. Banishment and separation from the beloved ones is often considered as more frightening than death.

In his treatise on categories of literature 'Einfache Formen' (Halle, 1929) André Jolles has defined the 'Märchen' by contrasting them to an unjust reality, offering a just solution of what should happen. He thus thinks that the Märchen add to the philosophical ethics, the ethics of action, another kind of ethics, a native moral, the ethics of happenings. Whereas the world is tragic, the realm of fairytales is decidedly un-tragic. Thus the sequence of such tale is normally the reverse of actual happenings. It begins with a tragic situation, a situation which we feel to be unjust, for instance, the illtreatment of the youngest child, the separation of a lover from his beloved, the subjugation of a person by a wicked magician or a devillish monster etc. and then in the course of events a solution is found, always a happy solution that corresponds to our feelings of justice. Thus Jolles explains also the marvellous happenings in the fairytales as characteristic, for they are not really marvellous, but natural in a world of fairy-tales, which negates our reality.

As far as Bengal is concerned I would like to point out another remark of Jolles, in which he contrasts an Anti-Märchen, a 'tragical fairytale', which he calls a contradictio in adjecto. In Bengal we meet this type of tragic tales in the folk ballads, which Dineshchandra Sen has collected. Many details of the folktales and ballads are much alike, but they invariably are separated by the opposite trends of the plot, which cause the reversal of the feelings of the reader or listener. The fairytales are led to a just solution, whereas the ballads fade away in a sad and tragic end. Thus in the analysis of Märchen and Ballads we should follow different methods to get results. Whereas the ballads can be considered as realistic, as direct reflection of reality, the fairytales have to be reversed, if we want to discover their actual and historical background. Again it should be stressed, that this refers to the general trend of the tales. In many of the details we might well meet with a convincing realism.

As we approach the end of this short survey, which we began with a periodisation, I want to turn the attention of the reader to a recent publication, which, if used properly, may be of great importance to the study of Indian folktales. I am referring to 'The Oral Tales of India' by Stith Thompson, the well-known editor of the *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, and Jonas Balys (Bloomington, 1958). This is not, as one may expect from the title, a collection of stories, but a motif-index of the oral tales of India. The materials used are the tales so far published in the English medium. To begin with, I have to remain aloof from some enthusiastic voices, hailing this publication too uncritical. But I could agree with Gopi Nath Sen, who in an article published in 'Indian Folklore' (vol. II, i. Jan.-March 1959, p. 54ff) recommends this catalogue as help for the guidance of Indian scholars.

As for the method applied in the catalogue, it should be noted, that for instance the typical Bengali folktales do neither appear in their best variants, which have so far not been published in English translation, nor in their characteristic features. For instance the part, played by the female heroines, being such an unusual feature, is given no prominent place, and could neither be discovered nor distinguished in this catalogue. But also in many details there are errors and wrong placings. A distribution of the text materials within the provinces of India, as has been attempted here, could only have been done after a detailed critical examination of the individual stories. Here very often the titles of books have been taken as sufficient indication for the place of origin of a story.

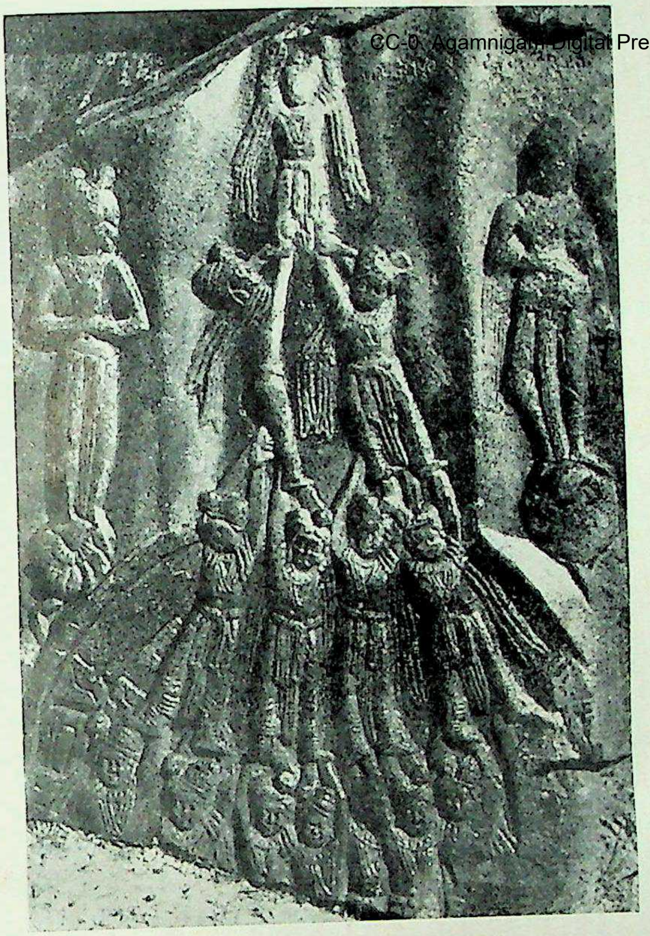
Again there is no differentiation between the tribal and other tales, a question we have already discussed. The introductory note gives no indication about the materials used, only personal explanations of the authors. The bibliography on the other hand does not seem to be complete, many items could have been gathered from a bibliography published by E. von Fürer Haimendorf (*An Anthropological Bibliography of South Asia*, Paris 1958). There are also repetitions and omissions in the motif-index. Mistakes may be unavoidable in a large catalogue of this type, yet some of them may cause considerable confusion. I select a typical example.

On P. 440 under the Index Number X 943, 1 we find a rather interesting and important motif mentioned : "Beautiful girl seated on a large lotus flower holding big elephant in each hand which she devours and throws off alternatively." Those who know D. C. Sen's *Bengali Literature and Language* will remember this incident to occur in a poem dedicated to the goddess Chandi, described at length in 'the story of Srimanta Sadagar' on p. 276 ff, where the passage is retold :

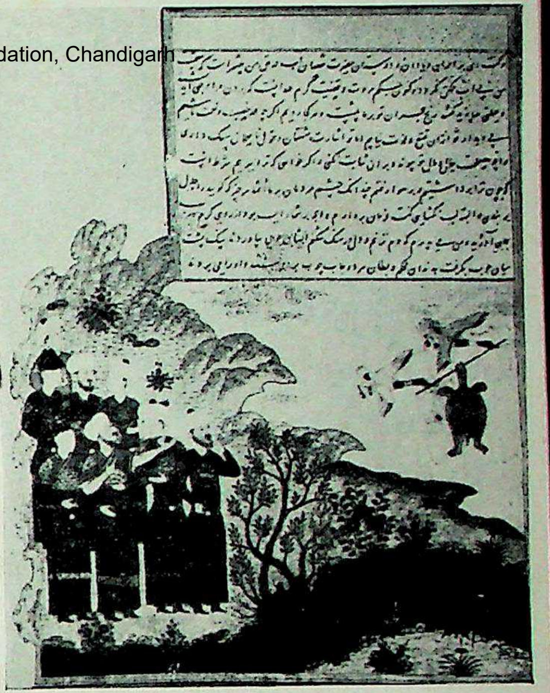
"Near that island (Ceylon !) in the great Indian Ocean he saw a strange sight. Lotuses with red petals and large green leaves were springing up all over the blue waters, and moving gently in the breeze. On the noblest and loveliest of these flowers was seated a woman of unparalleled beauty. Her majestic looks and the light that shone about her face spread a quiet glow over the blue waters, and she looked as if painted against the blue horizon. One might almost have imagined that the lotuses blushed for shame of being eclipsed by her resplendent beauty. And what was this woman doing ? Wonder of wonders she had caught with one tender hand a huge elephant which with the other she was putting into her mouth. The stem of the lotus was shaking under its strange load, in which the beautiful and the grotesque were fantastically blended, and Dhanapati (the hero) cried out in wonder : 'But how can the weak lotus bear so heavy a burden' !"

Now this incident is obviously meant in the description of the motif, and is repeated under the same number in the 5th volume of *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, although the book of D. C. Sen is not given in the bibliography as a reference. It may be mentioned here that 'the lady on the lotus' is illustrated on the *Kānthās* of Bengal and the reader is referred to an article by St. Kramrisch (*Journal Indian Society of Oriental Art* VII, 1939, p. 163, pl. XIV). Thompson and Balys refer under X 943, 1 only to one Bengal publication : D. N. Neogi *Tales, Sacred and Secular*, Calcutta 1912, which I am unable to check up. I have no reason to doubt that this book contains the same story, probably retold from the poem. But then the authors mention under the heading 'Punjab' another reference : Stokes 112. We have already remarked, that most of the Stokes tales are from Bengal. Now on P. 112 of the Stokes collection, we actually find a story mentioning a woman and elephants, but that is about all the similarity we can discover ! She is the daughter of a wrestler and impresses another wrestler by her strength. "So they gave her a rope, and she tied the three elephants together, and flung them over her shoulder etc." If motifs of such different character can be summarised under the same heading, a motif-index would be of no purpose whatsoever. We may have noticed with some amusement, that with 'the wonderful story' the wrestler story from the Stokes collection we have for the 3rd time returned to the world of sports and acrobatics, facing now an elephant swallowing woman, when we had already met with women building up the body of an elephant in acrobatic fashion. The fantastic image of the 'lady on the lotus' may well be a fata morgana, inspired by the many images of the goddess Laxmi sided by elephants, so frequently met with in Indian and Ceylon art. The Galpota from Polonnaruva in Ceylon is here given as an example (Ill. Nr. 20). As to the wrestler story it may be mentioned, that there exists a similar version in the collection of D. C. Sen 'The wrestler 22 men strong and the wrestler 23 men strong.'

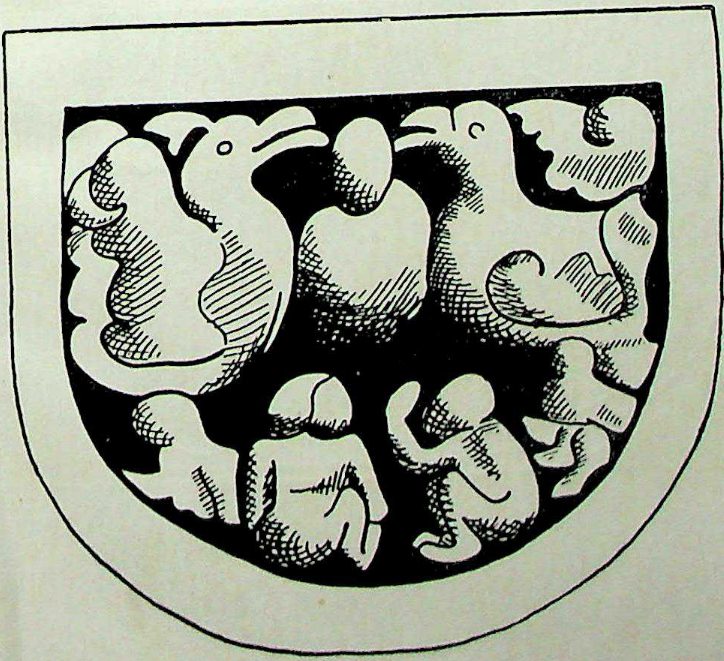
Once more the Motif-Index shall be welcomed as a stimulus rather than as a solution to Indian folklore problems. The main tasks for the scholar in the field are yet to collect as much of the material as remains available, to publish these tales, to critically edit them with all their variants and to give for the benefit of comparative studies a translation as well. The critical study of the oral tales will make possible a revised motif-index, as well as a type-index, which has been announced, but as far as I am aware, has not yet appeared. It might be suggested, that such a type index, as well as the motif-index should treat together the literary versions already much better known--and the oral tales, for many of the problems of both categories can only be studied if all the available materials can be checked against each other.



No 1 Bharhut Vedika. Acrobatic Scene



No. 3 Ms. illus. of Tortoisa tale



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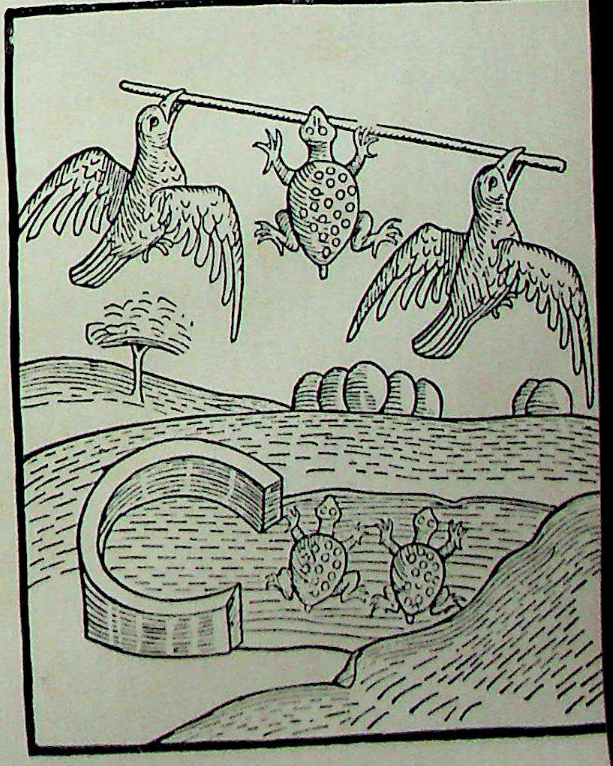
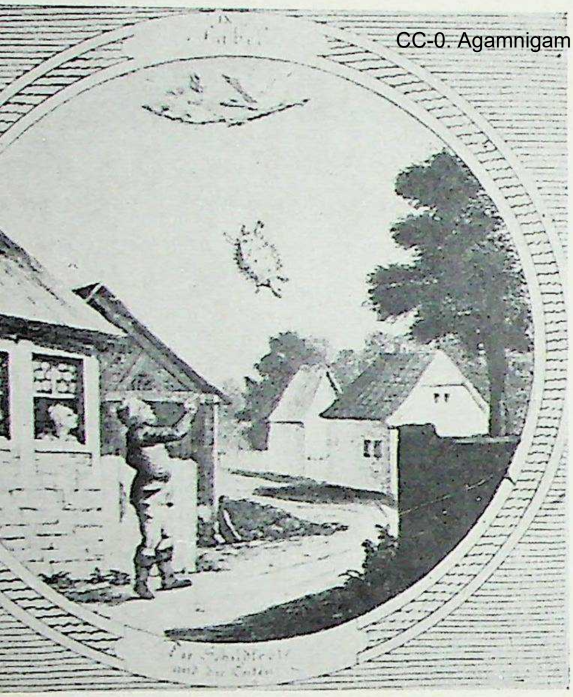


No. 4 Tortoise Tale



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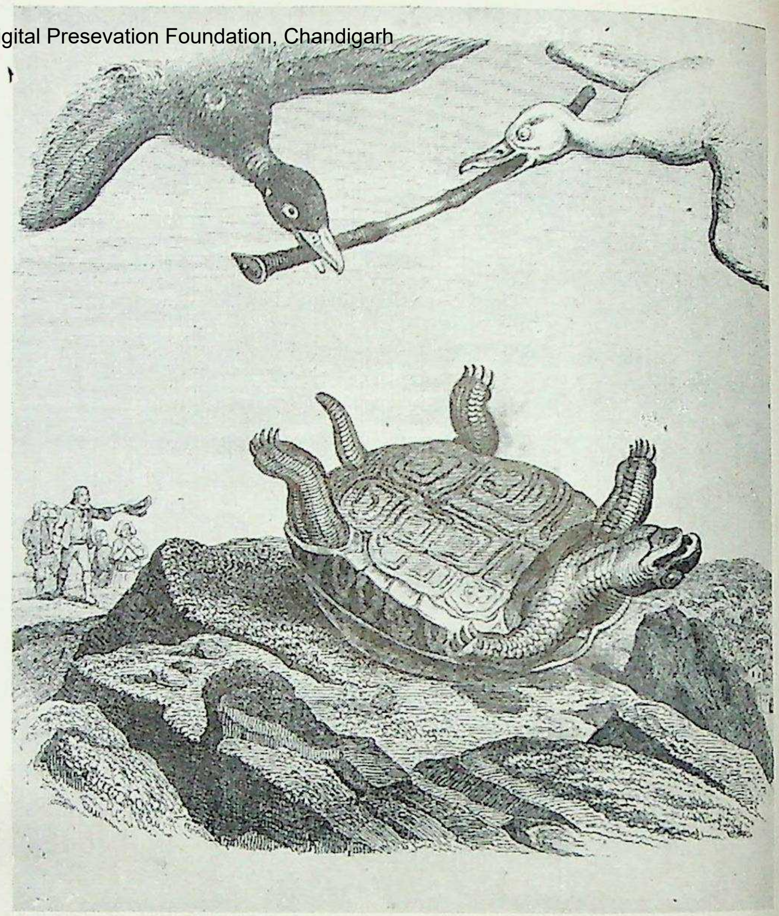

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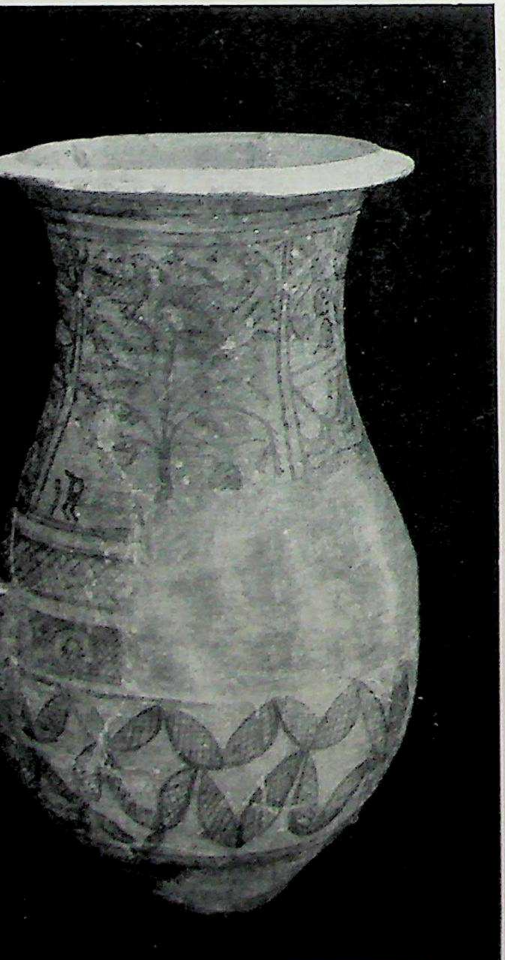

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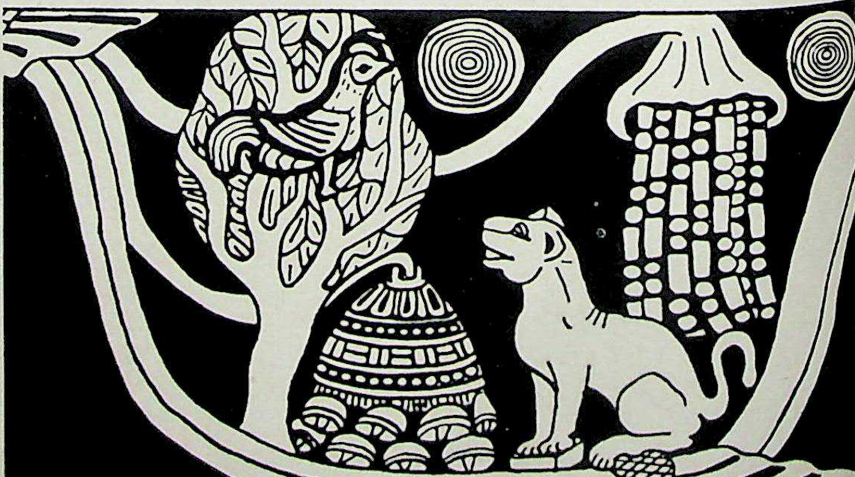

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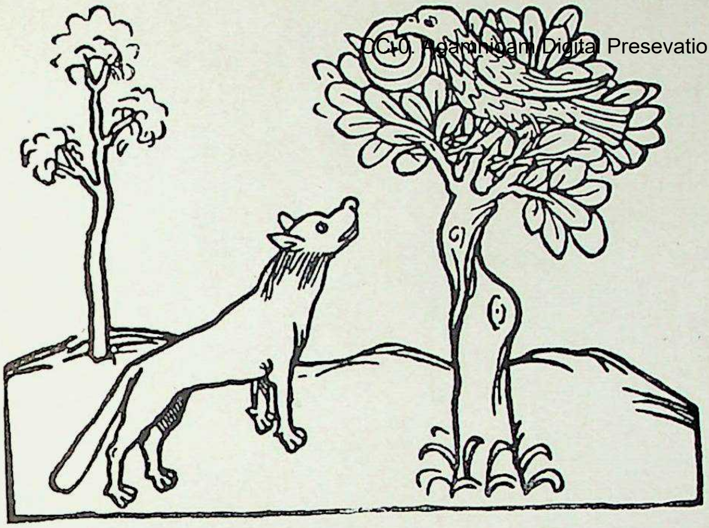

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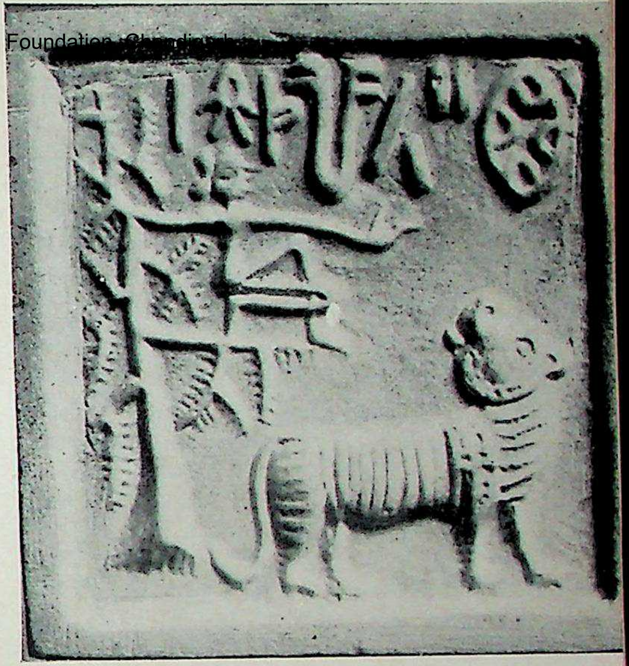
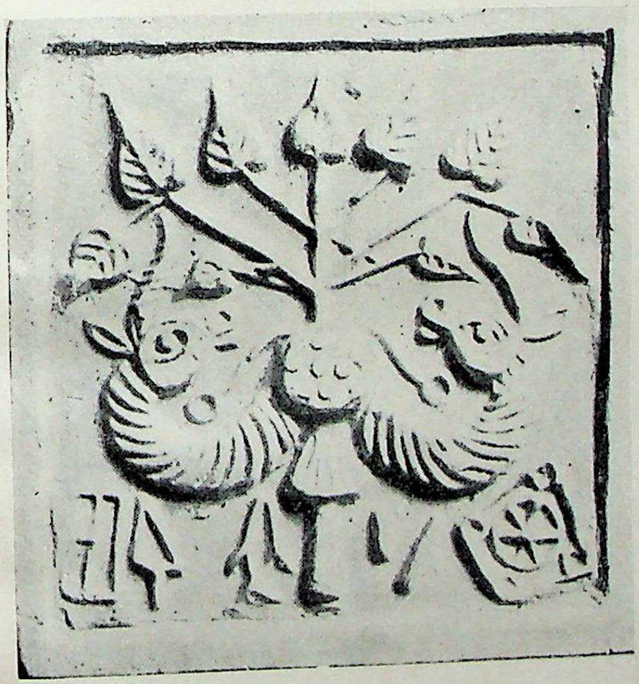
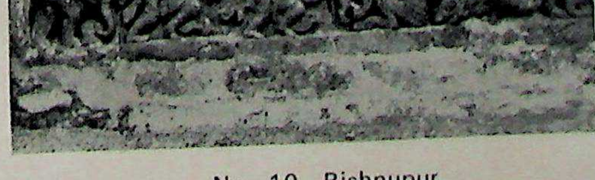


No. 12 Mohenjo Daro



No. 11 Mohenjo Daro

No. 13 Bishnupur



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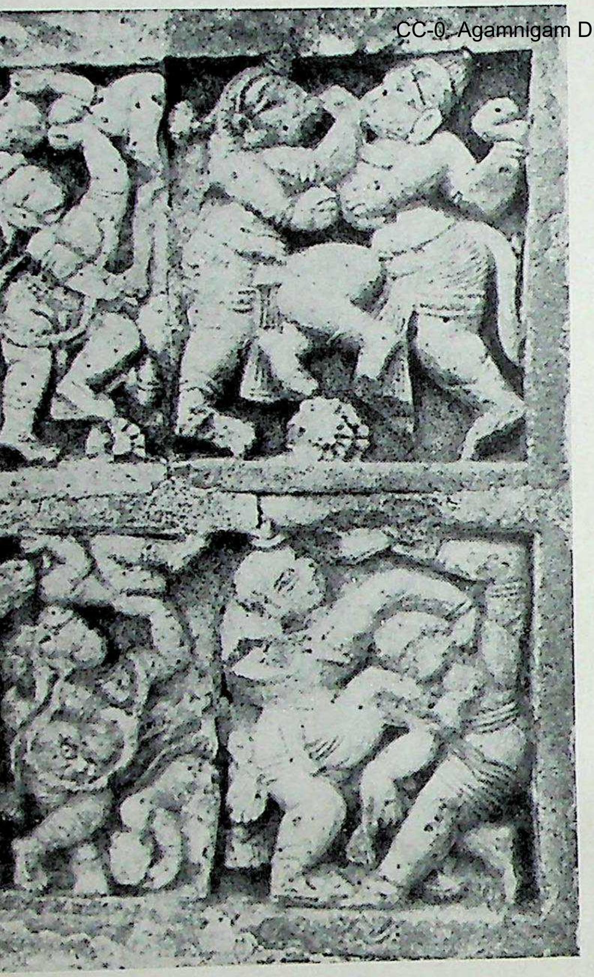

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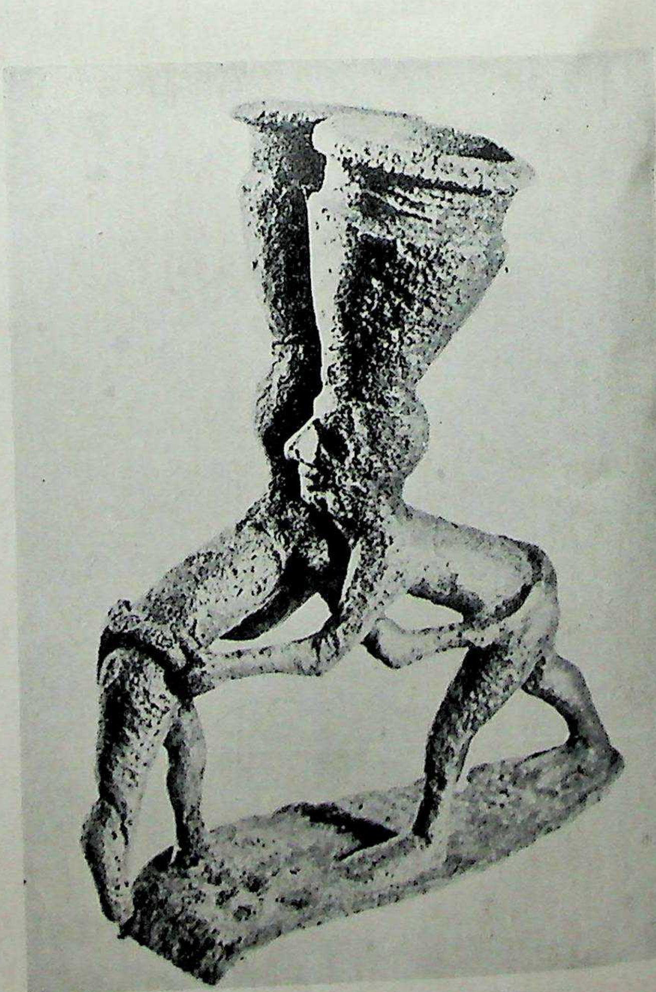
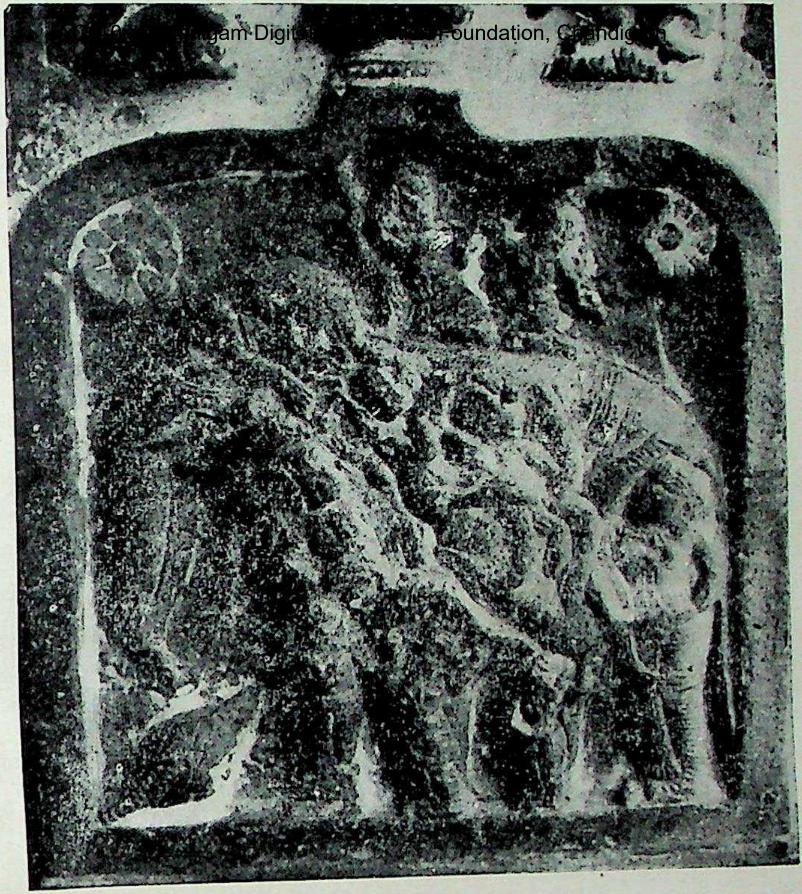


No. 15 Tell Agrab

[illegible] Digit[illegible] Foundation, Chandigarh



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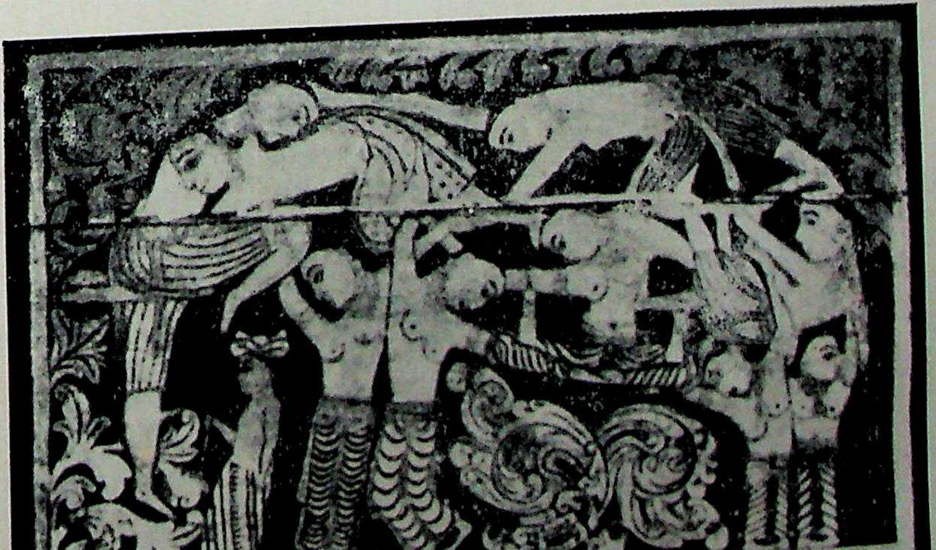
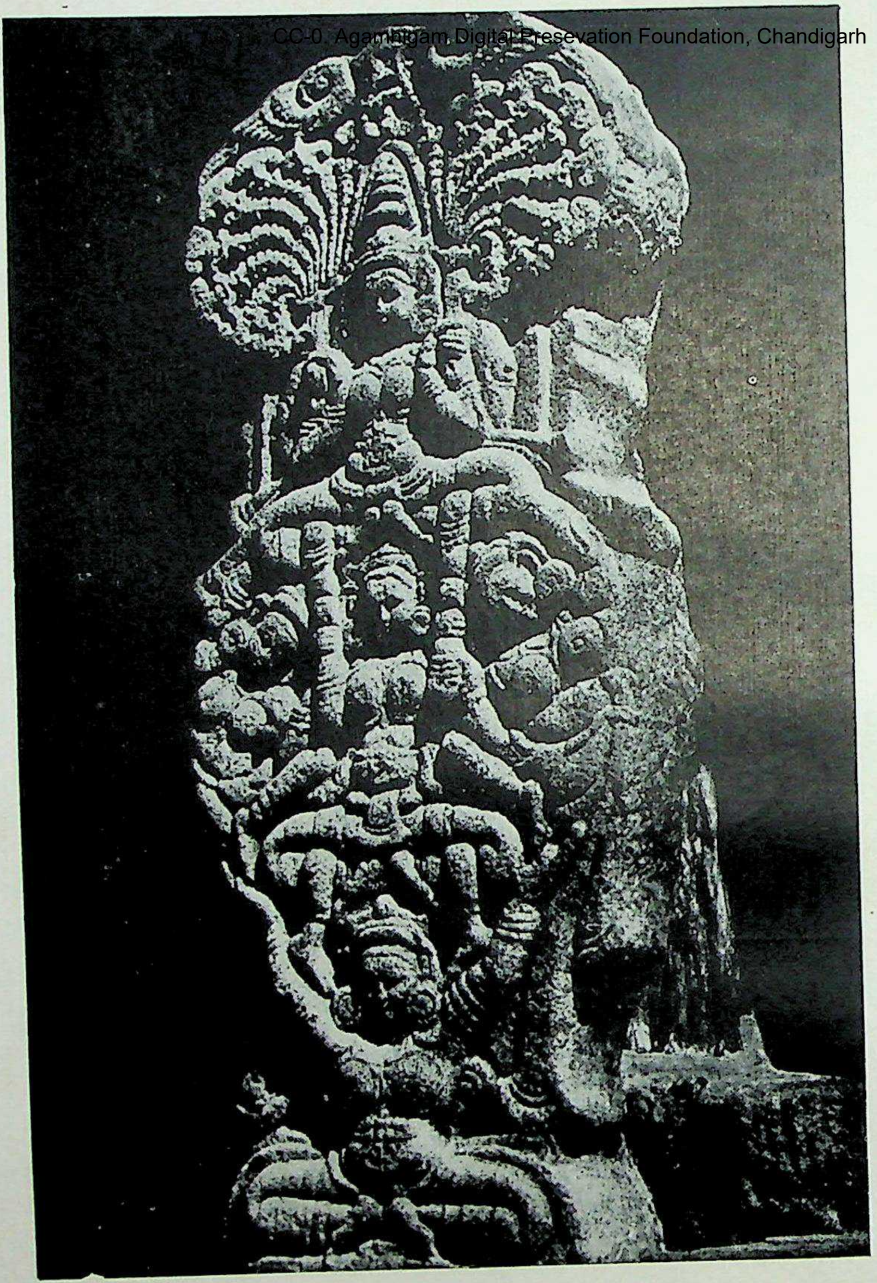


No. 18 Dalada Maligawa



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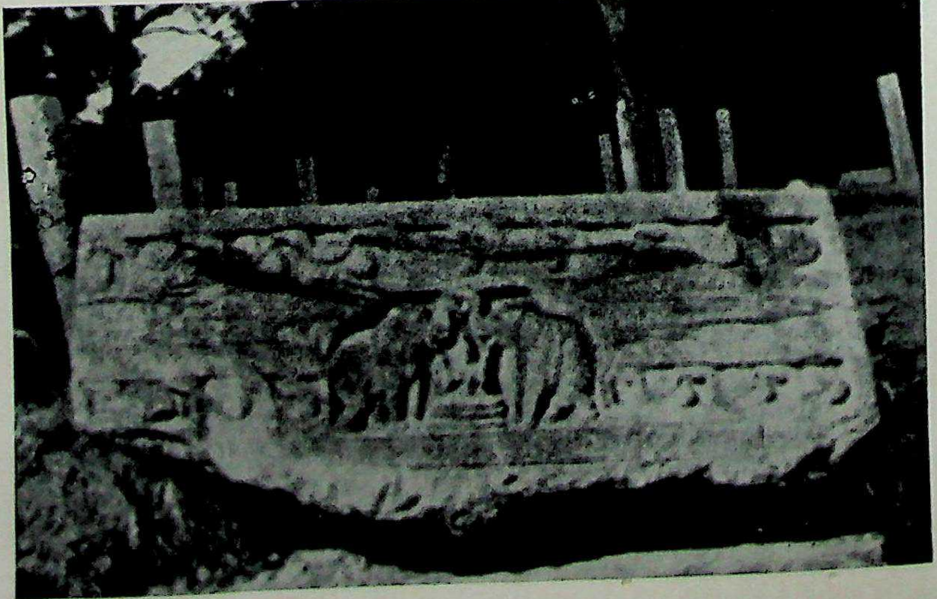


No. 20 Galpota

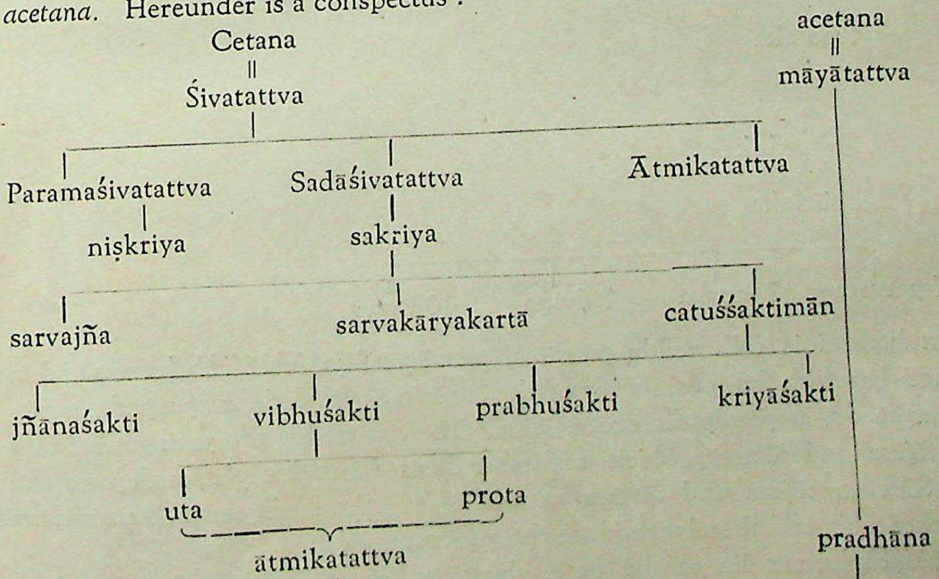
Sudarshana Singhal

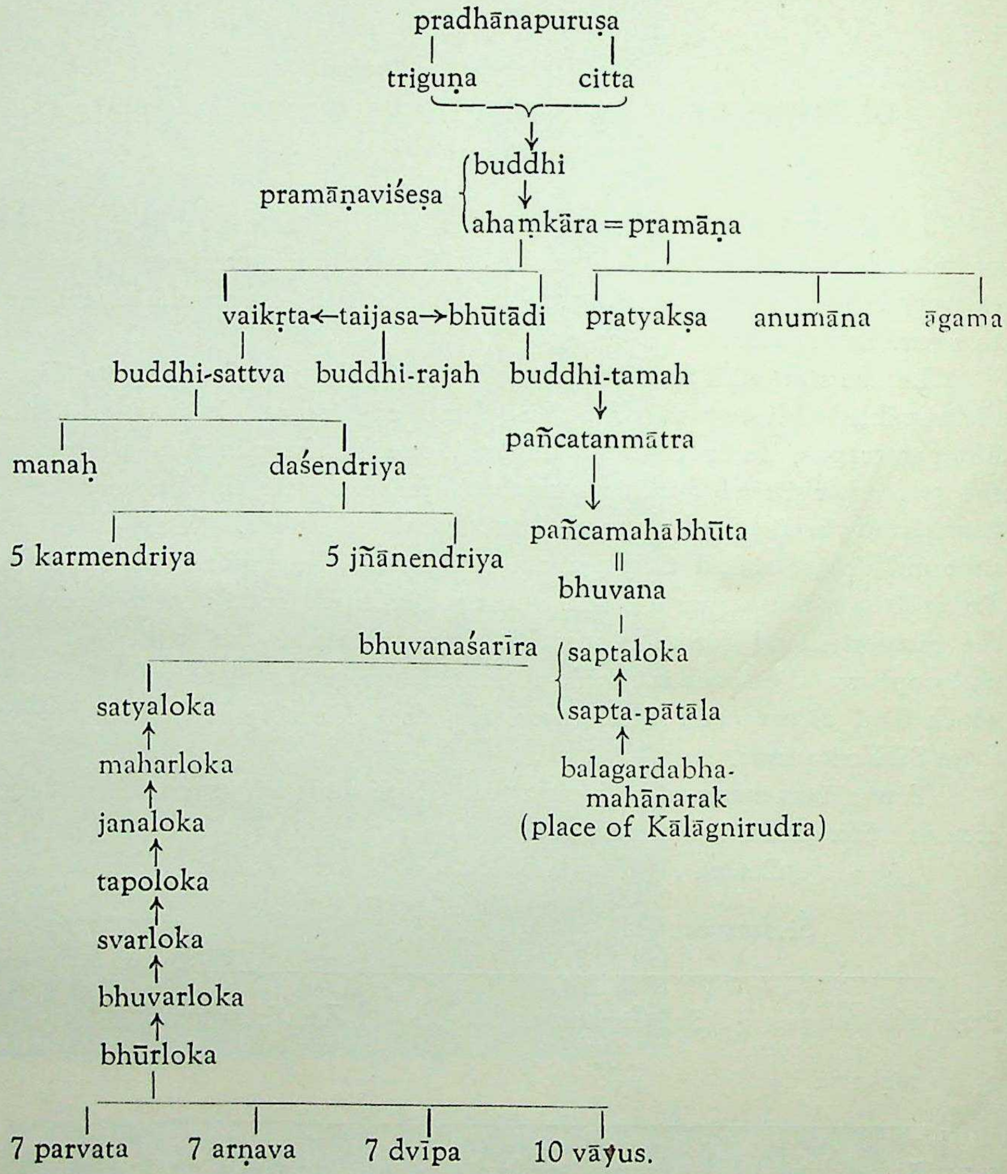
GLIMPSES OF ANCIENT INDONESIAN PHILOSOPHICAL FORMULATION

I shall straightaway take my readers with me into the non-chartered regions of Indonesian philosophical literature. Although the terrain may not be familiar to every Indologist, the verdant growth that meets the eye would be familiar to him to a remarkable degree.

Let me start with the lontars or palm-leaves bearing Sang Hyang Tattvajñāna, the unpublished holy text of philosophical cognizance. It may be divided into fifty paragraphs. In order to understand it one may keep in mind almost constantly the two other sister Indonesian treatises Vṛhaspatitattva and Gaṇapatitattva, which have already been edited, annotated and translated by me. While Śiva is the expositor and Vṛhaspati and Gaṇapati respectively are the enquirers in the sister texts, Tattvajñāna is not a question and answer handbook but a systematic exposition of the categories and formulations that have pervaded the minds of Indonesian philosophers. The style is simple and the language is replete with Sanskrit terms which lend dignity and preciseness. In the following account I have retained these Sanskrit terms.

Tattvajñāna starts with *bhuvanotpatti* which deals with two tattvas : *cetana* and *acetana*. Hereunder is a conspectus :


Cetana
||
Śivatattva
acetana
||
māyātattva
Paramaśivatattva
Sadāśivatattva
Ātmikatattva
niṣkriya
sakriya
sarvajña
sarvakāryakartā
catuśśaktimān
jñānaśakti
vibhuśakti
prabhuśakti
kriyāśakti
uta
prota
ātmikatattva
||
Puruṣa
pradhāna


pradhānapuruṣa
triguṇa
citta
buddhi
pramāṇaviśeṣa
ahaṃkāra = pramāṇa
vaikṛta ← taijasa → bhūtādi
pratyakṣa
anumāna
āgama
buddhi-sattva
buddhi-rajah
buddhi-tamah
manaḥ
daśendriya
pañcatanmātra
5 karmendriya
5 jñānendriya
pañcamahābhūta
bhuvana
bhuvanaśarīra
saptaloka
sapta-pātāla
balagardabha-mahānarak (place of Kālāgnirudra)
satyaloka
maharloka
janaloka
tapoloka
svarloka
bhuvarloka
bhūrloka
7 parvata
7 arṇava
7 dvīpa
10 vāyus.

Bhuvanotpatti is followed by *pramāṇa*, *pramāṇaviśeṣa*, *śubhāśubhakarmas* and in accordance therewith the positioning of the *ātmā* in *jāgratapada*, *svapnapada*, *suṣuptapada*, *turyapada*, *turyāntapada* or *turyātīta*. Then there are the *yonis* graded into *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa*, which are further divided into *kaniṣṭha*, *madhyama* and *uttama*. *Sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa* as well as *kaniṣṭha*, *madhyama* and *uttama* are mixed inextricably and thereby produce the panorama of life.

Śubhāśubhakarmas lie at the base. *Bhaṭāra* has made us the foundation of *bhuvana*. We die and are born again. This is the *satya* of *bhuvana*. To cross over births and rebirths, their joys and sorrows, as well as their bondage, our objective becomes *tattvajñāna*. It is likened to a torch, it is *samyagjñāna*. *Vrata, tapa, yoga, samādhi* are its ground. *Prayogasandhi* is its *upāya*. Tattvajñāna is the medicine for *ātmasaṃsāra* or aflictions of the soul.

Truly the *ātmā* is posited in the *turyapada*. Driven by the *kriyāśakti* of the Lord, this *atmā* comes to reveal in the *pañcagati saṃsāra*, being filled with *ahaṃkāra, vāyu* and *nāḍīs*. The Lord is like an ironsmith and the *ātmā* is like His *khaḍga*. The *khaḍgas* are not all the same. Their differences correspond to the varieties of their functions. By itself the *ātmā* is *acetana*, but through the Lord's desire to behold the *sakala* it gets separated from the *Bhaṭāra* and, joining itself with *pradhānatattva*, it starts functioning like a *cetana*. When *niṣkriya*, the soul is known as *ātmaviśeṣa*. Another designation for *ātmaviśeṣa* is *Bhaṭāradharma*. On the other hand *sakriya ātmā* has been termed *pramāṇa*. *Niṣkriya ātmā* dwells in *turyapada*. It is *sūkṣma*. *Cetanātmā* dwells in *jāgratapada*. This is the *sthūlarūpa* of *niṣkriya ātmā*. Another form of *ātmā* is that which has been joined on to *ahaṃkāra*. It produces *pañcatanmātra, pañcamahābhūta* and *manaḥ*. *Manaḥ* is reflected in the *ātmā* and thereby the *ātmā* becomes fivefold, *pañcātmā* or *ātmaparivāra*. To get involved into *śubhāśubha* actions is its *gati*. Alongwith *ahaṃkāra, buddhi* is another fundamental characteristic of the *ātmā*. *Icchāśakti* of *Bhaṭāra* is at its back. It is *ātmā* with *sāttvika buddhi* which experiences *duḥkha*, the *ātmā* with *rājasa buddhi* inflicts *duḥkha*, while the *ātmā* with *tāmasa buddhi*, is affliction itself.

Bhaṭāra is the life of all creatures. *Saṃsāra* is pervaded by the Lord. Does it mean that the lord experiences *sukha-duḥkha*? No, the Lord permeates the universe in the same way as fire pervades wood. It is *vyakta* as well as *avyakta*. We might compare what the *Vṛhaspatitattva* śf. 49 has to say :

"Yad ghṛtaṃ payasi hariś ca yad dāruṣu kṣitaḥ
Jalaṃ nabhaḥsthitaṃ sarvago'nilaḥ
Rajastamodṛṣyaṃ mano nare san na sat tathā
Bāhye jagati tan nopalabhyate."

The world is full of men of many kinds. Some are highly endowed with wealth and beauty while others are born lowly and deficient. Among them only he who knows *prayogasandhi* is *cetana* and *prājña*. He performs *tapa, vrata, yoga* and *samādhi*. He can be likened to one who is *paripūrṇa* with *ātmaviśeṣa*. Through *samādhi* he is graced by the Lord and attains an *ādhyātmika* status, for *samādhi* is not only the locus of *ātmaviśeṣa* but of the Lord too. *Samādhi* is *īśvarapraṇidhāna*. Without *samādhi* one is reduced to *pañcatiryak* where only the soul resides. This soul is like the stem of a plantain. Here the *ātmā* is *sthūla*. It is *vāyu*, sound and its reception that involve the soul into *āvartta*. From *tiryak* downwards, including the *sthāvara, tṛṇa, taru, latā* and *gulma*, there is growth but the soul is *acetana*.

An individual soul, devoid of *ātmaviśeṣa* is egoistic, being motivated by *ahaṃkāra*. It decides and resolves but in itself it stays undecided and undetermined.

The soul that discriminates *sad* and *asad* is superior to a *tiryak* soul. Although such an individual is *cetana* and sporadically performs *śubha* but it remains dark and unenlightened in the absence of *śāstrāgama.*

There are other individuals who are *vidagdha* in *śāstras* but are not yet fully filled up with *ātmaviśeṣa.* Their soul is *sakriya.* If they had been duly filled with *ātmaviśeṣa* then their soul would have attained the state *niṣkriya* and would have thereby found its location in *turyapada.* When the soul is *niṣkriya,* it attains *aṣṭaiśvarya* and *yogaviśeṣa. Bhaṭāra Ādipramāṇa* or *Bhaṭāra Sadāśivatattva* resides in that soul.

When *Bhaṭāra* takes to a corporeal frame then the soul posited in *jāgratapada* and *turyapada* has also to assume a body. When it has taken to a body, it is identified through *ahaṃkāra* and begins to perform *śubhāśubha.* Never before that. The soul in the *svapnapada* becomes heavy and gross, slothy and torporous. In fact it is *acetana.* At the approach of death *kālanidrā* dominates the soul, and the soul gets lost. To illustrate how irrecoverable the loss is Tattvajñāna cites an analogy. "Take a barley grain. Cut it into a thousand particles. Throw them into the ocean. The particles become irrecoverable."

Turyapada and *turyāntapada* are *vicārātīta. Sūkṣma turyapada* is inferable but *paramasūkṣma turyāntapada* is knowable only by *āgama-pramāṇa.* Let me particularize more fully :

Turyāntapada is *vicārātīta.*

Turyapada is the real locus of the soul. It is *acetana, niṣkriya, sūkṣma, śubhāśubhātīta, śuddha,* and pervaded with *ātmaviśeṣa.*

Jāgratpada, here the soul is joined on to the *pradhānatattva,* becomes *cetana, sthūla,* and is characterized by *pramāṇa.*

Svapnapada and *suṣuptapada* have been differentiated. In both these *padas* the soul is associated with *ahaṃkāra* and thereby generates *pañcatanmātra, pañcamahābhūta* and the threefold *manaḥ, sāttvika, rājasa* and *tāmasa.*

Svapnapada is characterized by heaviness and sloth. The *ātmā* is *sakriya* and altogether *sthūla.* It belongs to the fivefold family, *ātmā, paratmā, nirātmā, antarātmā, sūkṣmātmā.* These terms have been elucidated. *Ātmā* is stationed in the heart and functions as the thinking apparatus. *Parātmā* is located in the eye and serves as the apparatus of vision. *Nirātmā* is placed in the skin and experiences hot and cold. *Antarātmā* is lodged in the brain and controls waking and sleeping. It is the *antarātmā* which passes beyond the body through the *brahmadvāra* into the infinite. *Sūkṣmātmā* dwells in the ears and listens. These terms have not so far been identified by me with anything similar in the vast Sanskrit philosophical literature.

Suptapada is altogether *acetana.* It stands in close proximity to *kālanidrā* which shatters the soul into a thousand pieces.

The above is followed by a description of the birth of man. The soul is born on earth in order to dwell in *bhuvanaśarīra* : *kāma* and *rati* are generated by the tasting of *ṣadrasa*. The human body, as the microcosm, lodges within itself the entire macrocosm. *Pradhānatattva* forms the corpus of the *ātmā*. The corpus is the instrument of the mind. The mind is the repository of *śubhāśubha*. The ten *indriyas* are its tools. This mind gets engrossed in sensuous enjoyment in *aṇḍabhuvana* i.e. (*bhuvanāṇḍa*). By retracting the ten senses into the mind and the mind into *pramāṇa* and *pramāṇa* into *dharmaviśeṣa* and ultimately *dharmaviśeṣa* into *antaviśeṣa*, the soul is released. It becomes feasible through *prayogasandhi* and *prayogasandhi* itself is inconceivable without *samyagjñāna*. This is so because only one who is *nipuṇa* in *tattva* can grasp the *sattva*, *rajaḥ* and *tamaḥ* states, and is capable in keeping them at a distance during *samādhi*. *Prayogasandhi* is the arrow which will hit its mark only when it is directed and kept in track by *samyagjñāna*, the feather. *Vrata*, *tapa*, *yoga* and *samādhi* are the bow.

Prayogasandhi is a rare term. *Prayoga* has been explained as the seven *yogas*, namely *āsana*, *prāṇāyāma*, *pratyāhāra*, *dhāraṇa*, *dhyāna*, *tarka*, and *samādhi*. Patañjali mentions *aṣṭāṅgayoga*. Vṛhaspatitattva and Gaṇapatitattva describe and explain *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*. *Tarkayoga* is available in Vṛhaspatitattva, Gaṇapatitattva and in India in Amṛtanādopaniṣad śl. 6. Yamas and niyamas on the other hand have been taken out. They appear as constituents of *daśaśīla* in Vṛhaspatitattva. *Sandhi* is explained as the *cetana* which gives light for achieving *ekatva*. *Āsana*, *prāṇāyāma* etc. are the threads which are collected together into *prayogasandhi*.

At the end I may draw attention to a few comparisons that appear in the Tattvajñāna. *Bhuvanāṇḍa* is compared to a beehive. Here the *ātmā* is a young bee. In another context *Puruṣa* is the *vṛṣabha* and *pradhāna* or *pradhānatattva* is the *śakaṭa*, and *Īśvara* is the *sārathī*. I shall cite the very stanza :

"Śakaṭopamaṃ pradhānaṃ puruṣo vṛṣabhopamaḥ.
Īśasārathisaṃyuktaṃ jagad bhramitacakravat."

This stanza appears not only here but also in Vṛhaspatitattva śl. 34 and in the didactic Indonesian text Ślokāntara śl. 66 (edited by Dr. Sharada Rami).

The *vāsanā* of the *triguṇas* and the *ātmā* to which it has stuck is compared to asafoetida and the earthen pot which its smell has stuck. Howsoever often one may wash the pot, the smell keeps clinging.

Although the philosophical skein is tangled, its threads do yield to analyses and comprehensions. Time and patience are fully rewarded. Tattvajñāna may be taken to be one of the outstanding compositions of Śaiva thought that once ennobled the strivings of the advancing souls of ancient Javanese and modern Balinese.

O. W. Wolters

A GLIMPSE OF WESTERN INDONESIA IN THE THIRD CENTURY A. D.

Professor Majumdar's distinguished contribution to South East Asian scholarship includes the first narrative account in the English language of the history of the Indonesian Archipelago from the earliest times to the arrival of the Portuguese[1]. For the period beginning with the seventh century he had at his disposal a considerable body of indigenous and foreign sources, but his sources for the earlier period were scarce. The student of Indonesian protohistory is at a much greater disadvantage than is his colleague who studies the coastal history of parts of mainland South East Asia in the first six centuries of the Christian era. The latter can draw on relatively copious Chinese information about Lin-yi and Funan, but the Chinese during those centuries never had occasion to write at length on the kingdoms of the Archipelago.

Nevertheless a few Chinese documents exist which provide a fleeting glimpse of western Indonesia if not in the earliest period of Indo-Indonesian commerce yes at least as early as the third century A. D. The information has become increasingly available over the years since Pelliot wrote his famous article on Funan in 1903[2], but it has never been incorporated in studies of Indonesian protohistory. The documents in question concern the kingdom of *Ko-ying*, sometimes transcribed as *Chia-ying*. Pelliot, the master of this kind of subject, left it in 1925 when he wrote that, because of various texts which it would have taken him too long to discuss in the article which he was then writing, he thought *Ko-ying* lay somewhere in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula[3]. It is possible, however, to attempt a somewhat fuller geographical definition of this kingdom and, more important, to indicate how the evidence about it throws some light on the still limited extent of western Indonesian trade with the outside world by the middle of the third century A. D. The evidence, when compared with commercial evidence 150 years later, enables one to break down into two distinct periods the relatively featureless centuries in Indonesian history before the appearance of Śrīvijaya in the seventh century.

The information about *Ko-ying* is in the form of fragments from K'ang T'ai's work, known today by several titles, and Wan Chên's *Nan chou i wu chih*. Both these writers were living in the first half of the third century A. D. K'ang T'ai transcribed the name as *Chia-ying*, while Wan Chên preferred *Ko-ying*[4].

Pelliot thought that K'ang T'ai, the envoy of the southern Wu dynasty of China, visited Funan sometime between about 245 and 250 and that this would have been when he collected his facts about foreign countries[5]. According to the

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*We regret that we had to delete words & phrases in Chinese characters. We apologise to the learned contributor for the printers' limitations.—*Publishers.*

Liang shu Fan Hsün was then ruling in Funan. Professor Hsiang Ta, however, had suggested that Chu Ying and K'ang T'ai were sent overseas by Lü Tai shortly after 224. Lü Tai was governor in the Tongking area at that time and is known to have sent a mission abroad. K'ang T'ai's book would therefore have been completed about 227[6]. Yet the *Wu chu* states that in 243 Fan Hsün's predecessor, Fan Chan sent a mission to China[7]. Moreover Fan Hsün sent tribute to China as late as the 280-289 period[8]. If Professor Hsiang Ta is correct, Fan Hsün would have been ruling for about sixty years. It is not easy to accept so long a reign. On the other hand, it is surprising if the Wu government waited for about twenty-five years before sending its mission to Funan. Professor Hsiang Ta stressed the preoccupation of the dynasty and its officials in overseas affairs in the first years of the Wu kingdom, founded in 222, and one can easily believe that the southern dynasty quickly realised its dependence on maritime trade for imports of luxury articles from India and the Middle East ; this would account for a mission to Funan at an earlier date than between 245 and 250.

All that is known about Wan Chên, author of the *Nan chou i wu chih,* is that he was a Wu dynasty prefect of Tan Yang, near the present Nanking[9]. Professor Hsiang Ta suspected that his period of office was sometime after 222 and before 234 and also in the period of vigorous overseas interests during the early period of the Wu dynasty[10].

The texts available for establishing *Ko-ying's* claim to be considered as a South East Asian and apparently a western Indonesian kingdom fall into three groups. In addition there are other texts which indicate the range of international relations linking *Ko-ying* with the world beyond South East Asia.

The first group brings *Ko-ying* into relation with *Chu-po.* The texts are in the form of quotations preserved in later works of a statement originally appearing in K'ang T'ai's *Fu nan t'u su chuan.* The most satisfactory, though not the earliest, quotation seems to be provided by the *T'ung tien* encyclopaedia written by Tu Yu (735 – 812) and copied by Ma Tuan-lin in the 13th century[11]. It is as follows :

> 'Fire Mountain (Volcano) country. It was known in the Sui period (581 – 618). It is 5,000 *li* east of *Chu-po.* It has volcanoes. Even when it rains the fires are not extinguished. In the middle of the volcanoes there are white rats. The *Fu nan t'u su chuan* states : The Volcano Island is about a thousand and more *li* to the east of Ma-wu island[12]. Heavy rain falls in the spring months. When the rain stops the fire blazes. The trees on the island in the rainy period have a black bark. When they are affected by the fire the bark becomes white. In the spring months the people in the neighbourhood of the island collect the bark and weave it into cloth or use it as wick. When it is a little dirty, it is thrown into the fire and it becomes

> clean again. There is also a mountain to the north of *Chia-ying* and to the west of *Chu-po*. It is 300 *li* in circumference. A fire blazes from the fourth month and comes to an end in the first month. When it blazes the shrubs and trees shed their leaves as in winter time in China. In the third month the people go into the mountain, take the bark, and weave it into fire cloth.'

The same information appears in a slightly abbreviated form in the *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi* geography, compiled in tha late tenth century. The following excerpt deals only with the reference to *Chia-ying* :

> 'The *Fu nan t'u su chuan* states :...There is also *Chia-ying* country. It is to the west of *Chu-po*. There is a mountain in (*Chia-ying*) which is 300 *li* in circumference...[13].'

Finally there is a statement in the *Hsüan chung chi*, a fourth or fifth century text, preserved in the *I wên lei chü* encyclopaedia, compiled by Ou-yang Hsün (557-641)[14]. Here K'ang T'ai's notes on volcanoes east and west of *Chu-po* have evidently been telescoped :

> 'The *Hsüan chung chi* states : In the southern region there is a volcano. It is to the east of Funan, to the north of *Chia-ying*, and to the west of *Chu-po*. From the fourth month a fire blazes...'

Thus there were two volcanoes known to K'ang T'ai. They were west as well as east of *Chu-po*, and this circumstance no doubt explains why the word 'also' appears in the text preserved in the *T'ung tien* in order to distinguish between the volcano east and west of *Chu-po*.

The relationship between Funan, in modern Cochin-China, and *Chu-po* makes it certain beyond doubt that *Chu-po* was the name of a prominent South East Asian geographical feature, and there has never been any doubt on this matter. *Chia-ying*, defined in relation to *Chu-po*, must for the same reason have been in South East Asia, and the attempts of Fujita Toyohachi and Su Chi-ch'ing to identify it with Quilon or *Koyampadi* in southern India cannot be sustained in the presence of the *Chu-po* evidence[15]. No Indian toponym would have been defined in terms of its position *vis-à-vis Chu-po*[16].

The significance of the term *Chu-po* remains a mystery. Pelliot suspected that, in spite of phonological difficulties, it was an early transcription of 'Java', and he related it to *Shê-p'o*, appearing in records referring to Indonesia in the fifth century and later[17]. Subsequently he believed that *Shê-p'o* in Chinese usage could also include Sumatra as well as the island of Java[18]. Yet it would seem that K'ang T'ai knew of *Chu-po* only as part of a large land mass immediately accessible from Funan. *Chu-po's* accessibility from Funan is also borne out by the fact that two of *Chu-po*'s offshore islands had trading relations with Funan ; they were *Chü-yen* and *Tan-lan*, north-east and north-west of *Chu-po* respectively.

The *Tan-lan* islanders brought iron in their ships to Funan[19], while the *Chü-yen* ones sailed in their ships to Funan with large shell cups[20]. One imagines that the metals of these islands helped to supply the workshops of Oc-Eo in Funan, which, according to M. Malleret, had no lack of raw materials. Professor Stein has suggested that *Chü-yen* and *Tan-lan* were in the Philippines, and this is a likely surmise[21]. It would therefore seem that *Chu-po*, from the point of view of a Chinese visitor to Funan, was somewhere on the northern coast of Borneo. If *Chu-po* can be reconstructed as 'Java', it would have been only later that 'Java' came to have a wider geographical significance for the Chinese. Perhaps as trade brought additional Indonesian islands within the Chinese horizon the term was used to describe a larger region in the Archipelago. At all events, it is clear from the quotations from K'ang T'ai's *Fu nan t'u su chuan* that *Chia-ying*, though west of *Chu-po* and located in terms of it, was not regarded as part of it.

Ko-ying's position in South East Asia is also established by the second group of texts dealing with its neighbours, who were certainly South East Asian.

There was *Chia-ch'ên* 'south-west' of *Ko-ying*, about which nothing is known[22]. But more interesting is *P'u-lei*, which was described by the *Nan chou i wu chih* in the *T'ai p'ing yü lan*'s paragraph on *Ko-ying*.

> 'To the south of (*Ko-ying*) there is a bay called *Wen*, and in the bay there is a *chou* called P'*u-lei*. Those who live there are all as black' as lacquer. Their teeth are quite white and their eyes are red. Males and females here are all naked[23].'

The compiler of the *T'ai p'ing yü lan* added a note to the above passage :

> 'K'ang T'ai's *Fu nan t'u su* : They load up with great quantities of supplies and go out (to sea). They look for ships passing by and come flocking to them with fowls, pigs, and jungle fruit in exchange for metal articles.'

The people of *P'u-lei* were evidently primitive, but, like the islanders living off *Chu-po*, they were not so primitive that they were unable to make a livelihood by trading with representatives of more sophisticated communities. Presumably they benefited from the shipping which converged on *Ko-ying*. The interesting piece of information about them, however, is that they had 'white teeth'. This probably means that they did not blacken their teeth for ornamental purposes[24]. In the third century others in South East Asia, equally primitive, were characterised as having 'white teeth'. The *Nan chou i wu chih* contains an account of the *Lei* people :

> 'On parts of the Funanese coast there are people like wild animals. Their bodies are as black as lacquer and their teeth are completely white. They shift their abode according to the seasons and have no fixed place of residence ... Water...They only eat flesh and meat and know nothing of agriculture. In cold weather they wear no clothes but cover themselves with sand.

> Sometimes they collect pigs, dogs, and fowl. Sometimes...Though they have the appearance of human beings, they are as primitive as tame animals[25].'

Professor Stein connects the name *Lei* with the mouth of the *Lei* river in the Lin-yi country on the northern Annam coast[26], but this explanation is not consistent with the fact that the *Lei* people were said to live on the Funanese coast. One suspects that such people as these were scattered in many of the less accessible parts of early maritime South East Asia. As far as the *P'u-lei* people south of *Ko-ying* are concerned, they may well have been a pre-Indonesian people who were still only partially assimilated to the Indonesians. To call them, 'negrito', would be begging the question. Perhaps they had marked 'Melanesoid' traits ; 'Melanesoid' is a name sometimes given to the people associated with the mesolithic cultures of South East Asia[27].

It seems certain that the primitive *P'u-lei* neighbours of *Ko-ying* had South East Asian ethnic affinities. There is no evidence to suggest that the Chinese ever regarded 'white teeth' as an Indian characteristic. How far the *P'u-lei* people lived from *Ko-ying* is not stated. It is unlikely that the Chinese would have heard of them if *Ko-ying* was unknown, for they had no harbour and no communications between them and the outside world are recorded. It is safe to conclude that *P'u-lei* was not very far from *Ko-ying*.

The other South East Asian centre in the world of *Ko-ying* was *Ssŭ-t'iao*

This is made clear by the *Nan chou i wu chih*.

> '*Ssŭ-i'iao* is the name of an island in the middle of the ocean. It is south-east of *Ko-ying* and about 3,000 *li* from it. There is a kingdom (on it) with cities and streets. The land is very fertile'.[28]

Ssŭ-t'iao is a difficult toponym, and much has been written about it. Pelliot. after originally identifying it with Ceylon and then with Java, felt inclined in the end to return to his first opinion that it was Ceylon[29]. Professor Petech has recently analysed a large number of *Ssŭ-t'iao* texts and comes to the conclusion that for Wan Chên, though not for his contemporaries K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying, *Ssŭ-t'iao* did not mean Ceylon[30]. And indeed Wan Chên's text, quoted above, if understood literally, locates it even more unambiguously in South East Asia than *Ko-ying* was ; it was almost as far south-east of *Ko-ying*, vaguely south-west of Borneo known from Funan, as Funan was 'west' of Lin-yi in northern Annam[31]. It is possible that an error has crept into the direction of *Ssŭ-t'iao* from *Ko-ying*, but what leads one to believe that this was not so is the consistent way in which Wan Chên describes *Ssŭ-t'iao* as an Indonesian-type country. It is not necessary to agree with Ferrand that the *mo-ch'u* tree of *Ssŭ-t'iao*, also mentioned by the *Nan-chou i wu chih*, was the majapahit tree of Java[32], but the association *Ssŭ-t'iao* with a volcano and with bark cloth is exactly the type of evidence one would expect of an Indonesian toponym.

'*Ssŭ-t'iao* also has a *chou* in its midst. In spring and summer a fire blazes there. In the autumn and winter it dies down. A tree grows in the middle of the fire. In autumn and winter the tree withers and the bark is used for making cloth[33].'

Ssŭ-t'iao, like *P'u-lei*, must have been a South East Asian neighbour of *Ko-ying*.

The third geographically definitive group of texts contains only one notice about *Ko-ying*. Once again it is a fragment from the *Nan chou i wu chih*.

'*Ko-ying* is south of *Chü-chiah* and about one month away[34].'

In recent years Professor Wheatley has subjected the early historical geography of the Malay Peninsula to close examination, and he has come to the conclusion that *Chü-chih*, for which variant names exist, may have been on the isthmian tract of the Malay Peninsula[35]. According to the *Nan chou i wu chih* *Chü-chih* was 800 *li* to the south of *Tien-sun*[36], which Professor Wheatley identifies with the head of the Peninsula[37]. *Ko-ying* must have been at the southern end of the Peninsula or beyond. Where, then, was it ?

Ko-ying was south of a volcano. The volcano could have been on the Peninsula, but the Chinese knew something of the Peninsula at that time and never mentioned one ; the reason is that no volcanoes, active or extinct, have been found there[38]. This seems to be the strongest reason for not following Pelliot in locating *Ko-ying* on the Peninsula. The kingdom seems to have been vaguely south-west of north-eastern Borneo, and this also narrows the field to western Borneo, Sumatra, or Java. But K'ang T'ai knew of land east of *Chü-li*, a variant of *Chü-chih*, in the form of *P'u-lo-chung*[39], which is likely to be western Borneo. Anyhow *Ko-ying* was south and not east of *Chü-chih*. One therefore looks to Sumatra or Java. It is unlikely that it was on the west coast of Sumatra, in spite of the fact that the volcanoes on that island are on the main range of mountains and therefore closer to the west than to the east coast. *Ko-ying* will be shown to be an important trading centre, but there is no evidence of such a centre on the west coast until a Tamil merchant guild inscription of A. D. 1088 found in the hinterland of Barus. Moreover the itinerary south-east to *Ssŭ-t'iao* does not make much sense if *Ko-ying* was on the west coast of Sumatra. Nor need the volcano evidence be an argument against a location on the east coast of Sumatra. In later centuries the Arabs reported volcano near *Jivaga*, the heartland of Śrīvijaya on the south-east coast of Sumatra, even though the volcano in question must have been far inland[40].

One is therefore left with the east coast of Sumatra and the northern coast of Java. But if *Ko-ying* lay on the northern coast of Java it becomes difficult to explain the reference to the volcano to its north. Nor is it easy to see how *P'u-lei's* bay lay to its south. The south-eastern direction of *Ssŭ-t'iao* from *Ko-ying* is also more consistent with the latter's being on the south-east coast of Sumatra. It is suggested that there in fact it was, but not so far north as the northern end of the active volcano belt, marked today by Sorik-merapi just north of the equator and extending south to Gunong Dempo about four degree south of the equator. *Ssŭ-t'iao*, 'a very fertile land', may well have been in Java.

The most cautious location which can be suggested for *Ko-ying* will not affect the conclusion which this short study seeks to propose. *Ko-ying* was a kingdom sufficiently close to the Straits of Malacca for the additional evidence about it, to be noted below, to be regarded as evidence of the nature of the trade plying the Straits in the first half of the third century A. D.

The historical interest of the fragments concerning *Ko-ying* must now be considered. Wan Chên heard of it in terms of a voyage from *Chü-chih* on the isthmus of the Peninsula, and there is no suggestion that ships visited it direct from Funan or China. This can only mean that a ship from *Ko-ying* bound for China would have proceeded up the coast of the Malay Peninsula in order to join the trade route across the Gulf of Siam to Funan and the coast of Annam. Such a route might conceivably have been worthwhile for *Ko-ying* traders but hardly for foreign traders, who could cut across the northern Peninsula, a practice which explains the importance of *Tun-sun* as an entrepôt for goods from Persia, India, and Tongking[41].

There are two pieces of evidence in support of the view that this round-about and unprofitable route up the east coast of the Peninsula would have been the customary way from *Ko-ying* to China if any one wanted to use it. The first is contained in the account of *Tun-sun* in the *Liang-shu*[42].

> 'More than 3,000 *li* from the southern frontier of Funan is the kingdom of *Tun-sun*, which is situated on a steep headland. The land is 1,000 *li* in extent ; the city is 10 *li* from the sea. There are five kings who all acknowledge themselves vassals of Funan. The eastern frontier of *Tun-sun* is in communication with Tongking, the western with India and Parthia. All the countries beyond the frontier come and went in pursuit of trade, because *Tun-sun* curves round and projects into the sea for more than 1,000 *li*. The South China Sea is of great extent and ocean-going junks have not yet crossed it direct. At this mart east and west meet together so that daily there are innumerable people there. Precious goods and rare merchandise—there is nothing which is not there.'

The *Liang shu* is the history of the dynasty which ruled in southern China from 502 to 557, but some of the information about Funan was drawn from K'ang T'ai's records. *Tun-sun* does not appear among the tributary kingdoms of China in the sixth century. Moreover the statement about the impossibility of crossing the South China Sea would have been an anachronism in the sixth century, for it will be seen below that this voyage was made, and apparently habitually, as early as the beginning of the fifth century. *Tun-sun* must have been important in the third century, when K'ang T'ai knew of it, and the reason was because it offered itself as a short cut *via* the Gulf of Siam for merchants and merchandise bound for southern China. The long and 'curving' Peninsula seems to have been regarded as an obstacle, and this also contributed to the importance of *Tun-sun* at the head of the Peninsula. It is most unlikely that the Straits of Malacca in the third century provided quick travelling to China, for the voyage across the South China Sea was not yet being made.

The other piece of evidence that voyages between *Ko-ying* and China would have been unusual can be inferred from a statement in the *Lo yang chia lan chi*, written by Yang Hsüan-chih about the middle of the sixth century. This work contains an imaginary journey by the monk Buddhabhadra from *Ko-ying* to China. It is evidently based on the information in the *Nan chou i wu chih*[43]. But one statement is new.

> 'In the south there is the country of *Ko-ying*. It is very far from the capital. (This) land is cut off completely (from China). For generations there has been no communication (between *Ko-ying* and China). Even in the period of the two Han dynasties and the (third century) Wei dynasty it never sent embassies to China[44].'

The *Nan chou i wu chih* had not disappeared in the sixth century when the *Lo yang chia lan chi* was written[45], and one can reasonably conclude that Yang Hsüan-chih had read it. The passage just quoted therefore seems to be his comment on what he had read. He evidently decided that *Ko-ying* had been too far away to send embassies[46]. But if tribute was not sent in the third century, and there is no record of any *Ko-ying* mission, it is most unlikely that there would have been regular trading, and the reason was simply that in terms of sailing routes at that time China was too far away to make the journey worthwhile.

Nevertheless a kingdom near the Straits of Malacca could still be an important trading centre, even though it was not in communication with China. For there are two further and well known passages to be noted, and it is these which indicate the range of international relations linking *Ko-ying* with the outside world.

> 'K'ang T'ai's *Wu shih wai kuo chuan*: The king of *Ko-ying* likes horses. Yüeh-chih merchants are continually importing them to *Ko-ying* country by sea. The king buys them all. If one (of the horses) escapes from its rein on the road (from the harbour to the palace) and has to be held by its mane when it is shown to the king, the latter still buys it at half price'[47].
>
> '*Nan chou i wu chih*: *Ku-nu* is about 8,000 *li* from *Ko-ying*. There are more than 10,000 families (in *Ku-nu*). They all use four-wheeled

> carts driven by two or four horses. People from all corners meet there. There are always more than a hundred ships (in the harbour). The crowds gathering in the market are more than 10,000. Day and night they do business. Drums and horns are sounded on the ships. The clothes of these people resemble the clothes of the Chinese'[48].

Where was *Ku-nu* ? Was it a port used by the Yüeh-chih merchants ?

K'ang T'ai knew of Tāmraliptī, the port of the Ganges, under the name of *Tan-mei*[49], and it is difficult to believe that Yüeh-chih traders operated from a port much further down the east coast of India. One thinks instead of a west coast port.

Part of the west coast may be eliminated from an enquiry into *Ku-nu*'s location by considering the location of *Chia-na-t'iao*[50]. There are three texts which seem to suggest a west coast position for *Chia-na-t'iao*. The first is from K'ang T'ai's *Fu nan chuan*[51].

> 'South-west of *Chia-na-t'iao* one enters a great bay. It is about 700 or 800 *li* (? away). Then one reaches the great estuary of the *Chih-hu-li* river. One crosses that river and continues west and (in the end) arrives at *Ta-ch'in*.'

This passage must have been an excerpt of an account of a voyage towards and beyond *Chia-na-t'iao* from an undisclosed southern centre to *Ta-ch'in*, the Roman Orient and Middle East[52]. Another of K'ang T'ai's fragments gives additional information about the voyage.

> 'From *Chia-na-t'iao* one boards a great merchant ship. Seven sails are unfurled. With the seasonal wind (with the monsoon behind one) one enters *Ta-ch'in* in a month and some days[53]'.

The sailing time mentioned by K'ang T'ai may legitimately be compared with Pliny's estimate of the length of the voyage from Ocelis near Aden to Muziris on the Malabar coast, which was 40 days with the monsoon[54]. Unfortunately no records exist of the Mediterranean writers' estimate of the return journey, but it has been suggested that from Muziris to Alexandria took about the same time as the outward journey[55]. *Chia-na-t'iao* could hardly have been anywhere else than on the west coast of India. That this was in fact its location is indicated by a further statement of K'ang T'ai which seems to be a description of part of western Asia as far east as northern India :

> 'K'ang T'ai says : *An-hsi* (Parthia-Persia), Yüeh-chih, (and) *T'ien-chu* (northern India) as far as *Chia-na-t'iao* all depend on this *salt*[56].

The salt in question came from the Indus[57].

The first of these three texts contains a further clue to the position of *Chia-na-t'iao*. Evidently it was not far from the mouth of the great *Chih-hu-li* river. According to K'ang T'ai this river had its source in the north-western part of the

K'un-lun mountains, the Himalayas, but he believed that it flowed in a south-eastern direction and became part of the Ganges[58]. In view of the sailing time from *Chia-na-t'iao* to *Ta-ch'in* the *Chih-hu-li* is more likely to have been a name of the Indus or one of its tributaries. At all events the river's origin in the Himalayas makes it certain that *Chia-na-t'iao* was a northern Indian centre, almost certainly on the north-western coast of India.

Pelliot was unwilling to commit himself about *Chia-na-t'iao's* location[59], while Professor Petech wondered whether the name should be reconstructed as *Ganadvipa*, possibly in South East Asia[60]. There is, however, another possibility more consistent with the geographical indications. Could it have been connected with the region known to Ptolemy as 'the harbour of Kanthi', which would correspond to the Prakrit *Kantha* and the harbour in the Gulf of Cutch known today as Kanthaka ?[61]. The transcription is not perfect, but one cannot expect K'ang T'ai's informants always to have exactly rendered foreign place-names.

There seem sufficient grounds for excluding *Ku-nu*, the port for *Ko-ying*, from that part of India. Nor does its description impress one as that of a South East Asian country. The mention of horse-driven carts points to somewhere in northern India, while the clothes of the inhabitants, likened to Chinese clothes, may reflect the trousers and belts of a horse-riding population, which are more likely to have resembled clothes introduced to northern China from the steppes than the loincloth and draped robes of the southern Indian. The comment on the similarity between the *Ku-nu* and Chinese clothes need not be taken as a fanciful guess, for Fa Hsien observed that the clothes of the people of Udyāna north of Taxila resembled those of the Chinese[62].

No more can be said of *Ku-nu* in this study than that the details about it together with the reasonably ample knowledge of the important trading centres of early South East Asia make it impossible to believe that *Ku-nu* was anywhere else than in India. It does not seem to have been near the estuaries of the Ganges or Indus, and future research should take into account other Yüeh-chih trading centres in the early third century[63]. But no matter where in India *Ku-nu* was, the evidence about *Ko-ying* makes it clear that *Ko-ying*, and through it western Indonesia, looked to the Indian Ocean and not to China for its commercial contacts with the outside world. *Ko-ying*'s position was very different from that of *Tun-sun* and Funan which looked in both directions.

But by 414 the commercial situation in western Indonesia had undergone a great change. The extent of the change is reflected in the statement of the merchants who accompanied Fa Hsien from *Yeh-p'o-t'i* (*Yavadvīpa*) to China that year. After a stormy voyage for seventy days the anxious merchants consulted together :

> 'The ordinary time for the voyage to Canton (from *Yeh-p'o-t'i*) is about fifty days. We have now exceeded that limit by many days ; must we not have gone out of our course ?[64].'

Twenty years ago a metereologist studied the sailing directions of Fa Hsien's voyage and concluded that the South East Asian port known to the pilgrim as *Yeh-p'o-t'i* was probably north of the equator[65]. Mr Grimes thought that the port in question was in Borneo, though he admitted that it would have been possible in mid-May, when Fa Hsien began this part of the voyage, to sail in a north-eastern direction to Canton from the coast of Sumatra between Singapore and Bangka island[66]. But whatever uncertainty there may be about the exact location of *Yeh-p'o-t'i* in Indonesia, there can hardly be any doubt that a non-stop voyage to Canton was planned and that such a voyage was familiar to the merchants[67]. Nor can there be any doubt that the usual approach to Indonesia from the Indian Ocean was by means of the Straits of Malacca, even though some may not be willing to believe that Fa Hsien, in his exceedingly distressing voyage across the Bay of Bengal, actually sailed down the Straits[68].

Thus by the early fifth century it is most likely that the Straits of Malacca were already discharging their historic function by providing access to the South China Sea, *via* ports in western Indonesia, for merchandise from the Indian Ocean bound for southern China. In the first half of the third century, on the other hand, this revolution in trade-routing had not yet been accomplished, and for this reason one regards with suspicion attempts to argue that the visit of Han Wu Ti's officials to *Huang-chih*, usually identified with Kāñcī, or Wang Mang's officials' return journey from *Huang-chih*[69] provide evidence that the genuine all-sea route through the Straits of Malacca and across the South China Sea was in use before the third century A. D. It is unthinkable that a facility of such importance fell into disuse. But unless the all-sea route was open, the Straits of Malacca would have been at a disadvantage in competing with the trans-Peninsular route which was the basis of *Tun-sun*'s importance and, indirectly, of Funan's empire.

Thus the conclusion which suggests itself from the fragments about *Ko-ying* is that one should regard the first half of the third century A. D. as a *terminus post quem* for studying the circumstances which, sometimes between about 250 and 400, brought about a great change in Far Eastern sailing practice and prepared the way for the rise of Śrīvijaya, the master of the Straits of Malacca in medieval Indonesian history. *Ko-ying* was merely the terminus for Indian trade with Indonesia. In the fifth century, however, Indonesian kingdoms lay on or close to an international highway from India to China. One asks oneself what would have been the significance of this economic divide to the cultural and political aspects of early Indonesian history.

NOTES

1. *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East. Volume II. Suvarṇadvīpa.* Two parts, Dacca, 1937-1938.
2. *Ko-ying*, the subject of the present study, was noted in 'Le Fou-nan', *BEFEO*, III, 1903, 266, note 3.
3. 'Quelques textes Chinois concernant l'Indochine Hindouisée', *E'tudes asiatiques*, Hanoi 1925, II, 250.
4. Wan Chên provides more information, and Ko-*ying* is therefore the form used in this article unless I am quoting K'ang T'ai. I am unable to offer suggestions concerning the word from which *Ko-ying/Chia-ying* was derived.
5. 'Le Fou-nan', 303. Pelliot re-affirmed this view in his posthumously published *Notes on Marco Polo*, I Paris, 1959, 448.
6. *T'ang tai Ch'ang-an yü hsi yü wên ming*, Peking, 1957, 566-568. Professor Naojiro Sugimoto has also argued that the mission was sent in the third decade of the third century ; *Tonan Asia shi kenkyu*, I, Tokyo, 1956.
7. *San Kuo chin*, *Wu chu chuan*, 2, 21a (Ssŭ pu ts'ung k'an edition). Professor Hsiang Ta thought that the attribution of a mission to Fan Chan in 243 was a mistake in the *Wu chu.*
8. *Liang shu* (Ssŭ pu ts'ung k'an edition), 54, 10a.
9. *Sui shu* (Ssŭ pu ts'ung k'an edition), 33, 22a.
10. *T'ung tai Ch'ang-an*, 56ff.
11. *T'ung tien*, Wan yu wên k'u edition, 188, 1011 ; *Wên hsien t'ung k'ao*, Wan yu wên k'u edition, 332, 2607.
12. *Ma-wu*'s position east of Funan is made clear in the *Liang shu*, 54, 8a. On the eastern borders of Funan there was the Great Ocean (the South China Sea). In this ocean was a great island. On the island was *Chu-po* country. East of this country was *Ma-wu* island. More than a 1,000 *li* further east was a 'Natural (? Fire) Island', whose bark was collected for weaving purposes.
13. *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi*, preface dated 1803, 277, 8b.
14. *I wên lei chü*, 80, 2b.
15. The views of these writers are set forth in Fan Hsiang-yung's edition of the *Lo yang chia lan chi*, Shanghai, 1958, 238-240. They argued on the grounds of suspected phonological correspondences between *Ko-ying* and the Indian place-names.
16. It may also be noted that bark-cloth has been a common Indonesian form of clothing. On the way in which the early Chinese confused bark-cloth with asbestos, see Laufer, 'Asbestos and Salamander', *T'oung pao*, XVI, 1915, 299-373.

17. 'Deux itinéraires', *BEFEO*; IV, 1904, 269-271. Pelliot expressed himself more confidently in his posthumously published *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, 448.
18. 'Quelques textes..., 250 ; *Marco Polo*, I, 448.
19. *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 787, 3485 (Reprint of the Han fên lou facsimile of a Sung print, Peking, 1960). The details about the sailing of ships to Funan are contained in a passage from the *Nan fang ts'ao wu chuang* in *TPYL*, 813, 3614. K'ang T'ai, however, knew that *Tan-lan* produced iron ; ibid.
20. *TPYL*, 787, 3485, quoting K'ang T'ai. The text refers to *Chu-po* as *Chu-chuan-po*, which must be an error for *Chu-po*. *Po-t'an* to the north-west of *Chu-po* exchanged gold with foreign merchants for grain and other goods ; *TPYL*, 787, 3485. *Pei-lu* to the south-east of *Chu-po* traded its tin ; ibid, 787, 3485. For all these islands Funan must have been the chief customer.
21. 'Le Lin-yi...', *Han-hiue*, Peking, II, 1947-9, 120-122.
22. *TPYL*, 790, 3501, quoting the *Nan chou i wu chih*.
23. Ibid.
24. It is possible, however, that they had not yet cultivated the betel-chewing habit.
25. *TPYL*, 790, 3501. I have omitted the tedious comments by the compiler of the *TPYL*. The text is occasionally broken.
26. 'Le Lin-yi', 302, note 369 ; 35.
27. Van Stein Callenfels, 'The Melanesoid civilisations of Eastern Asia.' *Bulletin of Raffles Museum*, Series B, I, 1936, 41-51. There is an interesting discussion on the relationship between these people and the later dominant peoples of parts of South East Asia in Barth, 'The Southern Mongoloid Migration', *Man*, LII, January 1952, 5-8.
28. *TPYL*, 787, 3485. Professor Petech, whose study on this subject I note below, translates the passage in the sense that it had 'three kings'.
29. In a review of Fujita Toyohachi's study of the subject ; TX, XIX, , 1932; 181-182.
30. 'Some Chinese texts concerning Ceylon', *The Ceylon Historical Journal*, III, 1954, 3 and 4, 217-227. Professor Petech thought that Wan Chên's *Ssŭ-t'iao* was Java.
31. According to the *Nan chou i wu chih* Funan was 3,000 and more *li* 'west' of Lin-yi ; *TPYL*, 787, 3482.
32. 'Ye-tiao, Sseu-tiao et Java', *JA*. 1916, 522-524.
33. *TPYL*, 787, 3485, quoting 'Wan Chên's *Nan fang i wu chih*.'
34. Ibid, 790, 3501.
35. *The Golden Khersonese*, Kuala Lumpur, 1961, 25.

36. *TPYL*, 790, 3501. I take *Tien-yu* to be a mistake for *Tien-sun*, a variant for *Tun-sun*.
37. *Golden Khersonese*, map on 286.
38. E.H.G. Dobby, *Southeast Asia*, fifth edition, 1956, 90, in respect of Malaya. He does not refer to any evidence of volcanoes elsewhere on the Peninsula.
39. *TPYL*, 782, 3485.
40. J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris, 1948, 10.
41. See Professor Wheatley's translation of an account of *Tun-sun* in the following paragraph.
42. *Liang shu*, 54, 7a. With one exception I follow Professor Wheatley's translation in *Golden Khersonese*, 16, which I translate as 'steep headland' and not 'ocean stepping stone'. I have translated it because here is not an isolated use of this term ; it appears in three other third century accounts of maritime South East Asia, and this suggests to me that it was used conventionally in respect of *Tun-sun* as well. For other examples see *TPYL* 787, 3485, and *TPYL* 988, 4312.
43. On Buddhabhadra see Pelliot; *TP*, XXII, 1923, 259-260.
44. Ko hsüeh ch'u pan shê edition, 1958, 89.
45. P'ei Sung-chie's commentary to the *San kuo chih*, written in 429, and the *Ch'i min yao shu*, written between 532 and 549, both quote from the *NCIWC* ; *San huo chih, wei* (Ssŭ pu edition), 4, 1b ; *Ch'i min yao shu* (Basic Sinological Series, Commercial Press, 1936), 10, 104. It is also listed in the *Sui shu* bibliographical chapter.
46. For transparent borrowings from the *NCIWC* see H. Maspero, 'Un texte Taoiste sur l'Orient Romain', *Mélanges posthumes*, III, 1950, 99 and note 2, 101.
47. The reference to the Wei dynasty in the *LYCLC* need not be interpreted as suggesting that the southern Wu dynasty, the contemporary of the northern Wei, may have received embassies. Yang Hsüan-chih was writing from the point of view of a northern Chinese. In the same passage he refers to the southern Liang emperor Wu Ti as Su Yen.
48. *TPYL*, 359, 1650. This translation differs slightly from Pelliot's in *E'tudes asiatiques*, II, 250. The last sentence is obscure. Pelliot suspected that the horse was dead when the king bought it at half price. Professor Heine-Geldern has written on Yüeh-chih horses and their influence on the design of one of the bronze drums of South East Asia ; 'The drum named Makalamau', *India Antiqua*, Leyden, 1947, 167-179.
49. *TPYL*, 790, 3501.
50. *Shui ching chu*, I, 43b (sub-commentary compiled by Yang Shou-ching and edited by Hsiung Hui-chên. Facsimile of the draft, Peking, 1957).

51. There are variant characters for the first part of this name.
52. *Shui ching chu*, I, 43b.
53. *TPYL*, 771, 3419.
54. Loeb Classical Library, VI, xxvi, 104.
55. E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1918, 51.
56. *Shui ching chu*, 1, 11b-12a.
57. *TPYL*, 59, 284, quoting 'Wan Chên's *Nan chou i wu chih*'. Wan Chên, like K'ang T'ai, confuses the Ganges and the Indus.
58. *Shui ching chu*, I, 16b-17a. On this subject see L. Petech, *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, Rome, 1950, 24. My friend, Dr B. N. Mukherjee, has called my attention to a passage in Dionysius Peregetes (late first century or early second century A. D.), which refers to a river in north-western India called the *Megarasa*. Its source was in the Himalayas; it first made its way into the region of the Ganges and then to the south and into the sea. This account distinguishes more accurately the river systems of the Ganges and Indus, but it also suggests the kind of misunderstanding which was responsible for K'ang T'ai's statement about the *Chih-hu-li*.
59. *E'tudes asiatiques*, II, 251-252.
60. *Northern India*..., 53.
61. I owe this suggestion to Dr Mukherjee.
62. H. A. Giles' translation, London, second impression; 1956, 11.
63. Dr Mukherjee has in fact wondered whether *Ku-nu* was Kayana.
64. *Kao sêng Fa Hsien chuan*, Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 51, no. 2085, 866a-b. Giles' translation is on page 79. Provisions had been taken on board for fifty days.
65. A. Grimes, 'The journey of Fa-hsien from Ceylon to Canton', *JMBRAS*, XIX, I. 1941, 76-92.
66. 'A north-east course was set in order to reach Canton'; Giles' translation, 78.
67. 50 days is a somewhat quick voyage from western Indonesia to Canton. The Arabs estimated that the voyage from Pulau Tioman, off the southern part of the east coast of the Peninsula, to Canton took 60 days. But the important feature of Fa Hsien's account is that there was no intention of breaking the voyage at an intermediate port.
68. Mı Grimes claimed to show that Fa Hsien's account of his voyage in the Bay of Bengal was consistent with his arrival at *Yeh-p'o-t'i* through the Straits of Malacca Unfortunately the pilgrim did not describe any landmarks which can be identified with the Straits.
69. *Ch'ien Han shu*, 28 etc., 37a-38a (Ssŭ pu ts'ung k'an edition). This text was first noted by Pelliot in *TP*, XIII, 1912, 457-461. Ferrand identified *Huang-chih* with Kāñcī in *JA*, Juil-Aoūt, 1919, 45-60.

A. Johns

THE ENLIGHTENMENT OF BHIMA

The Kraton religion of 15th century Java is complex, sophisticated and syncretic, and is generally characterised by the name *Shiva Buddha*, an expression implying a syncretic blending of Shivaism and Buddhism. Within less than two centuries, however, this religion had been displaced from its dominant position, many of its holy books were destroyed, and Java was under the exclusive rule of Muslim kings. A study of this period of transition from one dominant religious tradition to another involves the consideration of many important questions, perhaps the most significant of which is : how much was involved in the change of religion ?

Any investigation of this problem must be based on a scrupulously thorough analysis of whatever documents relevant to this period of religious change that are still extant. Where appropriate, archaeology too must play its part.

We are fortunate that a small number of Javanese documents still survive from the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Of these, some quite clearly belong to the earlier Javanese tradition, others, quite as definitely are Islamic ; yet others reflect attempts at a synthesis between the fundamental tenets of each religion. In addition there are documents of later date, notably the encyclopaedic 18th century *Tjenṭini*,[1] which make it clear that although Islam had won a major victory in Java by the early 17th century, the debate between the two religious traditions long continued.

Two such specifically Islamic documents are *The Book of Bonang*,[2] and *A Javanese Primbon from the 16th Century*.[3] One which belongs to the intermediate category is *The Secret Teaching of Sunan Bonang*,[4] and two belonging unequivocally to the older tradition, bearing not the least trace of Islam either in vocabulary or doctrine are the *Tantu Panggelaran*,[5] a work comprising myths relating to the creation, and the spreading of mandalas, and the *Bhimasuci* (also known as *Dewaruci*)[6].

It is particularly fortunate that there are at least two texts based on the Bhimasuci motif extant from a period prior to the spread of Islam in Java, both available in printed form,[7] and that several versions subsequent to the formal establishment of Islam as the official religion of the Javanese Kingdoms are readily accessible.

The figure of Bhima properly belongs to the Indian Epic, the Mahabharata. He is the second of the five Pandu brothers, heroes of the story. Of these five brothers, the most striking are Bhima and Arjuna. Bhima, in the Indian version of the epic is a mighty warrior of immense proportions, famous almost exclusively for his physical strength. Arjuna, on the other hand is a knight. He exemplifies refinement and nobility, is a highly accomplished lover, and an equally accomplished ascetic. And through his asceticism he acquires a supernatural might that makes him feared by gods and demons. It is Arjuna in the Indian versions of the epic who, as knight, archer, lover, ascetic and demi-god, is the most important of the five brothers.[8]

The complex of stories and episodes which forms the Mahabharata underwent certain modifications in an Indonesian environment. The heroes of the epic and their struggles became popular in Java through a highly characteristic Javanese art form, the shadow theatre, with which they became identified. Various episodes were re-interpreted, new ones were invented, and certain of the major heroes appeared under a different light.

The characters of this theatre are flat, highly ornate leather puppets, arranged to the right and the left of the puppet master, who sits under an oil lamp and facing a white screen. The lamp throws the shadows of the puppets onto the screen as the puppet master handles them. The puppet master supplies both the voices of the puppets and the connective narrative episodes according to certain conventions. His narrative and impersonations are accompanied by a Javanese gamelan orchestra. The performance begins with the Sacred Hindu formula : Om, *awighnam astu*, *siddhi namas* at 9 p. m. and concludes at 6 a. m. the following morning. Such, in brief outline, is the medium through which versions of the Indian epics were, and still are, presented to Javanese audiences.

A general study of *wayang*, or shadow play librettos and summaries, reveals that in the Javanese context, it is on the whole Bhima, not Arjuna, who is the most important character, popular though Arjuna is. And it is the figure of Bhima as it occurs in the *Bhimasuci* that I wish to discuss in some detail.

This *Bhimasuci* is of particular interest and importance because it presents an episode in Bhima's career which, up to the present at least, has not been discovered in any Indian source. Further, it manifests an aspect of Bhima's character unknown in India : Bhima as a master of esoteric wisdom. An outline of the story as given in the text we referred to earlier,[9] supplemented from other sources where this is incomplete, will suffice.

Bhima studies at the feet of the treasonable cleric Druna, who while pretending to be his spiritual father, is in fact bent on destroying him. With Bhima dead, the most formidable of the Pandawas will be eliminated, and the chances of a Kurawa victory in the war increased. Druna then, in his capacity as Bhima's spiritual preceptor, orders him to seek the mysterious water of life. He misdirects him, telling him that it is to be found in a cavern in a huge mountain. The mountain however is inhabited by two ferocious ogres, and it is Druna's design that they shall kill him. Bhima however destroys the two ogres and they revert to their beneficient forms as the gods, Indra and Bayu. From them he learns that the water is not to be found at the mountain and that he is to return to Druna for fresh instructions. On Bhima's return, Druna tells him that this fruitless journey was only intended to test his faithfulness to his teacher (*guruçuçrūṣā*). He then tells Bhima that the sacred water is hidden in the depths of the sea. Before departing, Bhima takes leave of his brothers who attempt to restrain him. Bhima, however, disregards their pleadings, and gets out. Having reached the sea he strides in. As he leaves the land far behind him he is attacked by a huge monster which, after a desperate struggle, he slays. He then finds himself face to face with a tiny creature, an exact replica of himself. After a short dialogue, the tiny creature, Dewaruci, orders the immense Bhima to enter his body via his ear. Bhima, at first incredulous and scoffing, at last obeys, finding himself in a vast empty space. There Dewaruci addresses him, and after giving him certain ethical teaching symbolically represented by apparitions of colours, initiates him into the most secret, esoteric knowledge.

It is now proper to examine in more detail the doctrinal implications and terminology of this story as they appear in Purbatjaraka's text. Clearly, Bhima is undergoing a series of trials to test his worthiness to gain some lofty goal : His conquest of the ogres of the mountain, sorrowful partings from his family, the perils of the unfathomable ocean, the desperate fight against the sea monster, and finally—to demonstrate the nothingness of his huge bulk—entry into the ear of the tiny Dewaruci. Bhima is astounded at the sight of this little man in the sea, whom the text, in an aside, informs us is : The One that one discovers when one is all alone (*iku tunggal sing katemu pada tunggal*). Bhima's astonishment grows when the little man tells him who he is, from whence he originates (i.e. through his parents Pandu and Kunti of the seed of the four-faced *Caturmuka*, i.e. Brahma), and what he is seeking. Bhima asks Dewaruci his name. Dewaruci replies : 'I am Dewaruci, and am so called because I have a clear knowledge of the Incomprehensible One (*Hyang Rusit*), whom even the *wiku* do not know by name. He is motionless as a revered stone, but this absolute Silence knows all your motions well. While you still live, you may not know the unification of death !'

Dewaruci then gives him fundamental advice : 'Do not set out on a journey without knowing whither you are bound ; seek not anything without knowing the nature (*rasa*) of what you seek ; eat nothing without knowing what you take to your mouth, do not worship without knowing to whom your worship is directed. Do not be as the fool from the mountain who mistook yellow foil for gold.'

Dewaruci, moved by Bhima's desire for absolute wisdom invites him to enter his ear. At first Bhima laughs, but Dewaruci says to him : 'You may be huge, but what is your size if compared to a mountain. Not only mountains, but the all, may be comprehended within me.' Bhima then enters Dewaruci's left ear without any difficulty.

Once within he finds himself in a vast space ; around him is an ocean extending into the distance on every side. When Dewaruci calls to him, asking how he fares, Bhima replies that he is in an empty space. Darkness then descends and Bhima loses all sense of the points of the compass—so vital to a Javanese,

In this darkness a glittering phenomena appears like an ocean of colours, each colour unlimited. Dewaruci, now addressing Bhima as *wiku* (holy man), orders him to consider these colours which he proceeds to interpret, explaining the nature of the heart (*driya*) and of the senses, for the senses can lead the body either to heaven or to hell. Black, red and yellow symbolize those qualities of mind which hinder man in his attempts to achieve the absolute, they are the life of the world, the vigour of all that subsists. To overcome them is to win absorption in the void (Jav. *tan ana* Skr. '*Śunyata*).

Various coloured forms appear and disappear, and are interpreted in turn by Dewaruci. Then a further glittering phenomena of many colours appears, and Dewaruci explains : 'This symbolises the essential nature of the One. All these colours are within you, likewise the colours of the world and the nine points (i.e. eight points of the compass and the centre) and all are the products of consciousness.........Every subtle thing is within you, and is one there. Their Being is within you, yet your being is within them ; you both proceed from one and the same source, and are both identical with the Creator of the world.'

The following section of the text elucidates the nature of the *pramana*,[10] the material soul, its relation to the world soul (*suksma*), and the relation of both to the body.

Two stanzas later the text breaks off, but it is sufficiently clear that the essential doctrine that has been communicated to Bhima is the identity of the microcosmos with the macrocosmos, and Bhima's own consubstantiality with the Absolute.

This spiritual aspect of Bhima is clearly a Javanese modification of his traditional character in the Indian rescensions of the Mahabharata, and the question at once arises : why should this extra dimension of spiritual hero have become associated with Bhima's personality in Java ?

Goris, writing in 1927, suggests that this endowment of Bhima with a spiritual aspect derives from his parentage. Bhima is frequently referred to as *Bayuputra*, son of the Wind God, and in Goris' view, it involved little incongruity for the Javanese to associate wind with breath, and breath with the Spirit of Life.[11]

In 1935, however, Stutterheim published an article drawing attention to various standing figures of Bhima in *wajang* style found in isolation on the mountain slopes of Central and East Java, dating from or about 1443, comparing them with analogous statues of Bhima in a dancing posture in Bali, dating from 1343, generally Shaivaitic in character.[12]

The significance of these statues, Stutterheim comments, was at first problematic, as they indicated the existence of a hitherto unknown Bhima cult.

Stutterheim discovered an explanation of the origin of this cult and its significance in an old Javanese text, the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa.[13] This text relates how Brahma created the god Parameçwara and gave him eight names for his eight manifestations: Rudra, Bhawa, Çarwa, Iça, (Paçupati) Bhīma, Ugra and Mahādewa. On the basis of this text and a study of the statues, Stutterheim concluded that these Bhima statues are to be interpreted as manifestations of the demonic, or Bhairawa-Çiwa worshipped in order to win release through absorption into this fearsome manifestation of the god.[14] The presentation of this Bhairawa figure in the form of the second son of Pandu, in *wayang* style is, in Stutterheim's view, due to a contamination resulting from the homophony of the two names.[15]

There is little doubt that the sanctuaries in which several of the Javanese Bhima statues have been found were specifically intended to assist in the winning of release. This is demonstrated by the nature of the scenes depicted on the reliefs, and the majority of the individual sculptures, which virtually all include the delivery of a figure from an evil form, the result of a curse.[16]

It is clear then that Bhima was worshipped in this cult as a saviour figure. This is not altogether an innovation, although there is certainly a radical shift of emphasis. Even in the Indian versions of the Mahabharata, Bhima had a special position *vis à vis* his brothers and their mother. When travelling he would carry the rest of the family on his back. And it was Bhima who, when the Pandawa pavilion was set ablaze by the Kurawas, took his mother and brothers tightly into his embrace and bore them out of danger; for Hyang Guru had foreseen this attempt to destroy the Pandawa and had sent Narada, his messenger, to instruct Bhima how to save himself and his family. Further, Stutterheim draws attention to two episodes, well-known in the shadow play literature, which in his judgment offer additional grounds for the consideration of Bhima as Leader and Saviour. The first is Bhima's birth in, and miraculous liberation from, a caul; the second is his rescue of his father from Hell.[17]

It is now possible to suggest a more satisfactory, although still provisional interpretation of the Bhimaşuci story than, to my knowledge, has yet been offered.

In this assessment, the date of origin of the work is of some importance. On the basis of linguistic evidence, Purbatjaraka suggests that his text was written at some time during the 16th century, commenting that the complete absence of any breath of Islam indicates that it must have been composed in an inland and perhaps remote region, untouched by the new religion.[18]

In a further article in 1940, however, Stutterheim, using archaeological evidence to assist in the elucidation of a literary problem, draws our attention to a scene from the Bhimasuci on a bas-relief in East Java—the first to be discovered—depicting Bhima's entry into the sea. This bas-relief, he suggests, dates from about 1450. He adds, however, that he cannot be sure whether the language of Purbatjaraka's text is compatible with such a conclusion.[19] Nevertheless, the possibility of an earlier text, now lost, or yet to be found, need not be excluded.

It may be regarded as certain, however, that the Bhimasuci is related to this Bhima cult, and is in all probability subsequent to it. The problem is to establish the relationship between the two. I would suggest that this relationship may be defined and understood by the hypothesis that the Bhimasuci has a specific function : to legitimise Bhima the son of Pandu as a Javanese culture hero, as a leader and saviour, into the rights and privileges of the Tantric pantheon.

Earlier I referred to the ambivalence in the Javanese attitude to Bhima implicit in the suggestion that Bhima was regarded both as a manifestation of Shiva and the second son of Pandu known from the *wayang*. This story then, according to my hypothesis, is to be regarded as a legitimation myth deriving from the development of this Bhima cult.

In the light of this hypothesis we can now reconsider the Bhimasuci story. The most striking feature of Purbatjaraka's text is the use of tantric Buddhist terms in the sections which follow Bhima's ecounter with Dewaruci. Notable among those used to designate the Absolute Reality is *Tan Ana* (Non-Being) which is clearly a Javanese equivalent for the Sanskrit Mahayanist term *śunyata* (The Void). Bhima's goal is, in fact, the Void. Certain terms of address applied to Dewaruci are even more significant : *Jina-rṣi*, *Buddhatattwa-rṣi*, *Adi-Buddha-rṣi*, and most striking of all, *Vairocana*.

The immense significance of these titles lies in the fact that for every Javanese, Dewaruci is Bhima's own quintessential subtle self, and this is clear from the *wayang* representation of Dewaruci as a miniature Bhima. In other words, Bhima himself is *Jina-rṣi*, *Buddhatattwa-rṣi*, *Adi-Buddha-rṣi*, and *Vairocana*. It is Bhima's experimental awareness of this that constitutes both his enlightenment and his *mokṣa*. Everything, to use a different terminology, is the product of the One Mind, the microcosmos is the macrocosmos, Nirvana is Samsara, there is no duality.

It is, of course, no accident that much of this teaching is reminiscent of Tibetan Buddhism, for Tibet was the heir to the North Indian Buddhist tradition which nourished so many Indonesian disciples until Nalanda was destroyed by the Muslim invasions in 1197. The pattern of an initiation after the overcoming of fantastic obstacles is quite clear. It is not unreasonable to interpret Bhima's entry into Dewaruci's ear as a symbolic death. And Bhima's first experience on entry is strikingly similar to that of the soul in its entry into the Bardo realm immediately after death, as described in the Tibetan book of the Dead.[20]

In any case it is interesting to note that the Tibetan culture hero Padmasambhava at a crucial stage in his career was brought into the presence of a great goddess, the Dakini, who transformed Padma into the syllable Hum, and swallowed it. Within her stomach Padma received the secret Avalokiteśvara initiation, after which she conferred on him initiation of body, speech and mind, and he was cleansed of all defilements and obscurations.[21]

This concept of Bhima legitimised as Buddha is not as startling as it might at first seem. Bosch has pointed out that one of the most popular objects of devotion of the Barabudur, the Buddha statue known as the 'kṣatriya in a cage' is known, even today as *sang* or *kaki* Bhima.[22] This, in itself, is valuable enough as a piece of information. But equally important for our argument is Bosch's discussion in the same article of a Sanskrit text from Bali, in which Bhima is clearly identified with Vajrasattva, a figure belonging to the Tantric pantheon and described in a 10th century Javanese text as the supreme *guru* and initiator into the highest wisdom. The same Sanskrit text moreover attributes to Bhima such bodhisattva like qualities as *pranipreman*, lover of creatures, *iagatam tratr*, protector of the worlds and *satkarmasadhuwusmeya*, lover of the well doing and righteous people.

This aspect of Bhima as bodhisattva is likewise evident in the Bhimasuci. Bhima's single-minded devotion, oblivious to both danger and the pleas of his kinsfolk is reminiscent of the course of the bodhisattva, bent on enlightenment in one life-time, thereafter to devote himself to the weal of the world.

It should by now be clear that the Bhimasuci does not quite fit into the general pattern of the majority of the adventures of the Pandawa brothers, which are largely concerned with their preparations for the Bharatayuddha, the great battle against their foes, the Kurawas. The basic ambivalence in regard to the figure of Bhima which we noted earlier, is present here too. Superficially it might seem that the story has the same general orientation, and is parallel in function to the Arjuna Wiwaha, in which Arjuna devotes himself to asceticism in preparation for the great day of the Bharatayuddha, and this idea need not altogether be excluded. But to my mind the primary import is quite different : it is the legitimation of Bhima as Buddha and Bodhisattva.

If this interpretation is corecct, then the antithesis suggested by Pigeaud between Bhima and Arjuna contrasting the roles of these two characters as they appear in the Bhimasuci-Dewaruci and Arjunawiwaha-Mintaraga groups of texts respectively, and implying that this dichotomy reflects a primeval Javanese cosmic dualism,[23] is no longer acceptable.

In any case the seeker of wisdom for its own sake (Bhima) and the seeker of wisdom for power (Arjuna) are such commonly cotrasted human types that little can be drawn from their opposition, other than a general commentary on human nature. The Bhimasuci is fundamentally different in kind and function from any *lakon* in which Arjuna plays the leading role, and the decisive proof of the uniqueness of this development of the figure of Bhima, lies in the absence of any parallel Arjuna cult.[24] In this it seems that Pigeaud too, like many other brilliant philologists, has been led astray by the shade of Durkheim.

As a more general comment on the development of the Bhima cult with which the Bhimasuci is intimately associated, one should perhaps remark that date of its emergence is significant. With the disappearance of Buddhism from India, the Javanese were cut off from that fairly intimate and continuous contact they had enjoyed with the central Mahayanist tradition. It is surely not going too far to suggest that they responded to this situation by developing techniques and concepts more characteristically their own in order to win the goal as important to them as to their Indian colleagues, absorption into the whole, *mokṣa*. The promotion of Bhima as Buddha, Leader and Saviour, may well be considered an illustration of this response.

This discussion of the Bhimasuci gives us a further insight into the nature of the shadow theatre, and the reason that such strong tabus attach to the performance of certain episodes or *lakon*. The shadow theatre is a complex phenomenon. It is possible to distinguish in almost every *wayang* performance at least three levels of interpretation : the mundane plane, where the main interest is in the story for its own sake ; the ethical, at which one may, through the characters presented learn something of the essential values of human life and conduct ; and finally, the metaphysical, at which are revealed the most profound mysteries of the cosmos. The relative importance of these three planes may vary, and likewise the level of mystical teaching imparted. But in certain works, and in particular certain episodes of the Bharatayuddha, one is brought face to face with the Javanese *mysterium tremendum*, the absolute identity of God and Man, of all forms, all apects, all relaiions. It is because the puppets have such an exalted function, that so much care and skill is devoted to their production, even though much of the ornamentation is invisible to the viewer.

Everything that we have discussed so far is a whole world removed and more from the least association with Islam. What could be more surprising therefore, than to find another version of the Bhimasuci written in a different verse form, but clearly deriving from Purbatjaraka's text, produced by Yasadipura, the court poet of a Muslim ruler, in the mid-18th century ?

Little, if anything has been changed. It is possible, I think to indicate cultural loss. Certain of the more abstruse doctrines are not to be found, and a greater proportion of space is given to the elucidation of more elementary symbolism. A few Arabic words have found their way in. *Tan ana* and *śunya* are replaced by the

Arabic *ghā'ib*, hidden, or non-extant; and the Arabic *dhāt*, essence, so central in Islamic mysticism has found a place as a term of reference for the ultimate reality, but the basic doctrine is identical, and there is not even lip-service to Islam.

The story appears in an Islamic guise, however, in a remarkable adaptation of the Yasadipura version under the title *Suluk Sèh Malaja.*[25] In this retelling of the story, the role of Druna is played by Sunan Bonang, one of the most important of the early preachers of Islam in Java. Bhima is replaced by Sunan Kalijaga, likewise well-known as a famous religious teacher and a convert of Sunan Bonang. Kalijaga is sent off to Mecca, to make the pilgrimage. But barely has he entered the sea than he meets, not Dewaruci, but the Muslim Prophet Khidr who tells him that worship at the physical Mecca, a place of stone, is mere idolatory, and that the true Mecca is to be found within his own heart. Kalijaga is then ordered to enter Khidr's ear, and once within, receives the same teaching in identical language as that given to Bhima. Only the names have been changed, otherwise the text is as that of Yasadipura—even the words describing Bhima's huge bulk are retained to describe Kalijaga, who is nothing out of the ordinary as far as size is concerned.

An important part of the introduction to this Islamicized version, including Sunan Bonang's dispatch of Sunan Kalijaga to Mecca, is to be found in the syncretic text I referred to earlier, the Secret Doctrine of Sunan Bonang. Here too, Kalijaga turns back from his path to Mecca and informs Bonang's servant Wudjil of his reasons : 'I returned because Maulana Maghribi said to me : "Return, for what you seek is not to be found in Mecca. The Mecca that lies to westward is, so to say, a false Mecca. Its holiness resides in a stone, thanks to the blessing of Abraham. If you leave Java, you will become once more, an infidel, therefore return. No-one knows the location of the true Mecca. If you essay the journey from youth to old age, but without the necessary provisions, you will never reach it. If you have these provisions then you may reach Mecca, and be entitled to the title *wali.* But the cost of these provisions is very great. They are not to be bought with money but with courage, readiness for death, gentleness and abandonment of the world. The mosque at Mecca encloses the throne of God which is in its centre. It is suspended without hook in the air. If it is looked on from above, then heaven is to be seen beneath it, if looked on from below, then is the earth to be seen above it. If one looks to the west, one sees the east ; if to the east, one sees the west. This is true, everything is reversed. If one looks to the south, one sees the north, if to the north, one sees the south, gleaming like the eyes of a peacock's tail. If there is one person who prays there, there is room for him alone ; if there are two or three, there is room for them ; if there are a thousand who pray there, the *ka'bah* can contain them ; even if the whole world were placed there the *ka'bah* could contain it."[26]

Here, once again, we have the same radical Monism that was evident in the

Bhimasuci, barely veiled by an Islamic terminology. Spatial relations are purely relative. There is no duality. The All may be comprised in the depths of the heart ; one requires no more 'space' than a thousand, or the Universe. The microcosmos is the macrocosmos.

In this survey of four texts we have gained some notion of the nature of Javanese religion : its primary concern was with release, enlightenment, *mokṣa*, an interest that was likewise traditionally Indian. This may have been expressed in an individual way in Javanese religious writings, but the central theme remained the same. We have seen the survival of a traditional expression of Javanese religious belief in Islamic times, and same expression represented in an Islamic framework. We have likewise seen Javanistic doctrine associated with the most famous of the early preachers of Islam in Java, Sunan Bonang.

We can now return to our original question : how much has involved in the change of religion ? No categorical answer to this question is possible. It is true that the practice of cremation and the construction of mausolea to honour a deceased king in the form of a Hindu divinity, ceased with the establishment of the Islamic kingdoms ; but it is virtually impossible to delineate the exact distribution of the varying degrees of Islamic doctrinal orthodoxy to be found in Java at any particular time. One can only offer the following general judgment :

The theosophy of Sufism, the Islamic mystical movement, which characterized the Islamic world between the 13th and the 18th centuries was able to harmonize fairly well with Javanese pre-suppositions. The Sufi concept of the Perfect Man and his ontological function does little violence to the basic themes of the Javanese religious tradition, and leaves the concept of microcosmos and macrocosmos virtually intact. The radical ideological concept that Islam had to modify, however, was that of an absolute univocal identity between God and man, for the orthodox Muslim tradition always succeeded in preserving the concept of God as non-extant. hidden and transcendent, free from any association with created being. God, in fact, remains the Creator.

Thus Islam presented a new approach to, and attempted to impose certain limitations upon the traditional solution of the problem central to Javanese religious thought, and to associate modified concepts with a different terminology to its most characteristic expressions. Islam was not completely successful and the result was a multiplicity of approaches to the allied concepts of monism and release, with various compromises and combinations between the old and the new religious traditions. It is only through attempts to elucidate the central themes of Javanese religious thought through a study of the expressions of this encounter between old and new, without being waylaid by the language of the terminology used, that it will become possible to understand Javaness religious history in its own terms, and to define what exactly happened when the new beliefs and social customs represented by Islam, found a home in Java. This, after all, is the duty of the historian.

NOTE

1. *Serat Tjenṭini* I-VIII Batavia 1912.
2. B. J. O. Schrieke, *Het boek van Bonang* (Leiden diss. 1916)
3. G. W, J. Drewes, *En Javaansche Primbon uit de zestiende eeuw* (Brill 1954).
4. Purbatjarak, 'De Geheime Leer van Sunan Bonang' *Djawa* XVIII (1938) 145-181.
5. Th. G. Th. Pigeaud De Tantu Panggelaran (Leiden diss. 1924)
6. Purbatjarak 'Dewarutji' *Djawa* XX (1940), 7-55.
7. In addition to Purbatjaraka, *Djawa* XX, Prijohutomo, *Nawaruci* (Utracht diss. 1934).
8. Sukthankar *On the Meaning of the Mahabharata* (Asiaṭic Society of Bombay, 1957), 99.
9. i.e. Purbatjaraka *Djawa* XX
10. All the Javanese MSS I have consulted read *pramana* ; *puruṣa*, however, seems the more appropriate term.
11. R. Goris 'Stormkinden Geestes-zoon' *Djawa* VII (1927) 110.
12. W. F. Stutterheim, *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology* (Martinus Nijhoff 1956) 107-116.
13. Stutterheim, *Studies*, 116.
14. Stutterheim, *Studies*, 118.
15. Stutterheim, *Studies*, 117.
16. Stutterheim, *Studies*, 119.
17. Stutterheim, *Studies*, 120-1.
18. Purbatjaraka, *Djawa* XX, 10.
19. W. F. Stutterheim 'De ouderdom van het Dewarutji', *Djawa* XX (1940), 131-2.
20. Evan-Wentz *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* (O. U. P. 1957) Lxxi
21. Evan-Wentz *The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation* (O. U. P. 1954) 132-3.
22. F. D. K. Bosch 'The Bhīmastava', in *India Antiqua* (Brill Leiden 1947), 57-62.
23. Th. G. Th. Pigeaud 'Alexander, Sakender en Senapati' *Djawa* VII (1927), 343 and *Djawa* XV (1935), 94-5, reviewing Prijohutomo *Nawaruci*.
24. Stutterheim, *Studies*, 107.
25. *Suluk Sèh Malaja* (Keluarga Bratakesawa, Jogjakarta 1956).
26. Purbatjaraka, *Djawa* XVIII 168-9.

NOUVELLES DONNE'ES SUR L'ART PRE'ANGOKRIEN : LE GROUPE VOISIN DE ROBANG ROMEAS.

Jean Boisselier

Le groupe de Robang Romeas, situé environ 2, 5 km. au nord de l'ensemble de Sambor Prei Kuk, n'est mentionné, comme le groupe voisin (au sud-est du précédent) qu'au *Complément à l'inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge* de H. Parmentier[1]. Le groupe principal est un ensemble de constructions assez disparates de la fin du Xo. et du XIo. siècles E. C., comportant en réemploi (sanctuaire B) un linteau préangkorien de la première partie du style de Prei Kmeng[2]. Le groupe voisin, constitué d'un petit ensemble de constructions où dominent les éléments préangkoriens, figure à ce titre dans H. Parmentier, *L'art khmer primitif* (p. 90 sqq.). Dans cette étude, l'Auteur a modifié la première désignation des sanctuaires et le *prasat* F, le plus méridional, y est devenu le sanctuaire A. C'est ce sanctuaire A qui retiendra spécialement notre attention.

H. Parmentier avait déjà souligné l'originalité de sa construction : son avant-corps important (Fig. 5), la présence d'un linteau intérieur (qu'il a décrit assez longuement pour l'intérêt de sa composition, cf. *L'art khmer primitif*, p. 285 sq.) constituent des anomalies dans l'art préangkorien. Ce sanctuaire porte (piédroit nord de l'avant-corps) une inscription sanskrite (K. 151) étudiée et publiée par M. G. Coedès[3]. Les précisions apportées par cette épigraphe, particulièrement la mention d'un Ś. Kapilavāsudeva (i.e. Viṣṇu) érigé en 598 A.D., incitaient P. Dupont et moi-même à rechercher si l'image, qui aurait été la plus ancienne qu'on puisse dater au Cambodge avec certitude, n'était pas demeurée dans le sanctuaire, en grande partie comblé par les décombres des superstructures, ou à proximité immédiate. J'obtins que M. P. Cottevieille, alors chargé d'intérim à l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, fut autorisé à procéder au dégagement du sanctuaire et de ses abords. La mission (22 mai-3 juin 1956), accomplie avec conscience et méthode, devait ruiner l'espoir de découvrir l'image attendue mais elle jetait, par contre, un jour nouveau sur la diversité de l'art préangkorien.

Toute chance de retrouver l'idole de Viṣṇu à proximité plus ou moins immédiate du sanctuaire A doit être abandonné. Le sanctuaire, pillé à date ancienne, a néanmoins livré un piédestal constitué d'assises et une cuve à ablutions dont la mortaise circulaire ne peut convenir qu'à un *liṅga*. Il semble bien d'ailleurs que c'est ce *liṅga* et sa pierre à dépôt sacré qui ont été mis au jour au cours du dégagement de la partie antérieure du sanctuaire. Il s'agit d'un *liṅga* à simple section dont la forme en massue et le gland souligné d'une simple gravure sont caractéristiques de toute une classe de fondations préangkoriennes. La pierre à dépot sacré, cylindrique avec une grande alvéole carrée entourée de seize petites alvéoles de même forme, est bien celle qui correspond au *liṅga*, elle ne pourrait en aucun cas avoir été utilisée pour une image anthropomorphe... Une désécration du sanctuaire, remontant nécessairement à la période préangkorienne étant donnés l'aspect du piédestal et les caractéristiques du *liṅga* semblant peu vraisemblable, il était intéressant de rechercher les raisons du désaccord constaté entre les données épigraphiques et archéologiques. L'inscription émane d'un certain Narasiṅhagupta qui, ayant "obtenu la seigneurerie dans Indrapura" par droit héréditaire, se qualifie de "premier des rois vassaux" (*sāmantanṛpāgraṇī*) des rois Bhavavarman (I), Mahendravarman et Īśānavarman (I). Comme pour l'inscription de Sambor Prei Kuk N. 18 (K. 149) qui émane d'un ācārya, *Mratāñ Añ* auprès des trois mêmes souverains, nous sommes en présence d'une épigraphe gravée suos le règne d'Īśānavarman, attesté en 616-617 et *ca*. 628 A. D. mais nous trouvons ici, peut-être à l'occassion de la constitution du domaine dont les limites sont définies st. IX à XI, le rappel d'une fondation effectuée en 598 A. D., sous le règne de Bhavavarman I dont c'est la seule date actuellement attestée. Le texte précisant que la divinité a été érigée à l'endroit même (*iha*), il faut admettre ou bien que le sanctuaire date lui-même de 598 A.D. ou bien, qu'élévé sous le règne d'Īśānavarman, il remplace comme il arrive quelquefois dans l'architecture khmère jusqu'à l'époque angkorienne (p. ex. certaines constructions du groupe de Koh Ker, 2^e quart du X^o. siècle) et comme semblent l'attester quelques textes (insc. de That Ba Döm, K. 360) un premier sanctuaire en matériaux légers. C'est cette dernière hypothèse qui était apparue comme la plus vraisemblable, l'aspect extérieur de la construction et la description du linteau n'invitant pas à faire remonter le monument à une date aussi haute que 598 A.D. Mais lorsque nous fûmes en possession des photographies des éléments décoratifs décrits par Parmentier et, surtout, des pièces mises au jour au cours du dégagement, il nous fallut admettre que le règne d'Īśānavarman I paraissait fournir des dates encore trop hautes pour la construction. Si, au contraire, l'attribution se vérifiait, il faudrait entièrement réviser la chronologie établie pour l'art préangkorien au cours des dernières décades[4], chronologie que paraissaient vérifier solidement les données épigraphiques aussi bien que les comparaisons avec les arts extérieurs. Il importait dès lors de rechercher si l'inscription n'était pas un réemploi. Avant le dégagement, deux indices pouvaient être retenus : le caractère absolument inhabituel du vaste avant-corps pour un édifice préangkorien, la présence de l'inscription sur le piédroit nord alors qu'il est de règle qu'une épigraphe unique soit gravée sur le piédroit sud. Le dégagement devait faire du doute latent une certitude : le piédroit inscrit est un réemploi et l'édification de l'avant-corps doit être rapportée au XI^e siècle E. C. En effect, cet avant-corps n'est qu'un simple placage en avant d'un sanctuaire plus ancien, sans la moindre liaison dans le briquetage, les moulurations de la base du sanctuaire et de l'avant-corps ne se raccordant même pas (fig. 5). Le linteau de cet avant-corps (fig. 4A), autrefois porté par des colonnettes cylindriques préangkoriennes (fig. 3), appartient sans conteste possible au style du Baphuon (XI^e Siècle E. C.). Intéressante composition représentant Kṛṣṇa Govardhana, il a été sculpté au revers d'un linteau préangkorien à peine ébauché (fig. 4B) mais qui appartient au groupe, peu nombreux, des linteaux à personnages sous arc (première partie du style de Prei Kmeng, *ca.* milieu du VII^e siècle E. C.). La marche de départ, "en accolade", s'orne des motifs latéraux de la période angkorienne et, enfin, l'assemblage du cadre de porte, au contraire de celui du sanctuaire lui-même, est réalisé dans le système à coupe d'onglet caractéristique de la construction angkorienne[5]. Nous trouvons ainsi un ensemble d'indications concordantes nous permettant d'avancer que l'avant-corps est une adjonction à un sanctuaire préexistant, adjonction comparable à celle des avant-corps des *prasat* Kok Pô Be et Kutiśvara, mais comportant le réemploi d'un certain nombre d'éléments préangkoriens : piédroits retaillés pour la circonstance, colonnettes, linteau ébauché orné d'une composition nouvelle. Les mêmes réemplois ont été constatés au *gopura* (bâtiment G du *Complément à l'inventaire*, construction à deux portes et non à une seule comme l'avait crû Parmentier) ; ils sont à rapprocher de celui signalé par Parmentier au sanctuaire B du groupe principal (linteau mentionné *supra*, *cf. Complément à l'inventaire*..., fig. 4). Finalement, les deux groupes de Robang Romeas paraissent avoir fait partie d'un même ensemble réunissant un certain nombre de fondations préangkoriennes ayant retrouvé leur importance à la suite d'une redistribution de l'ancien domaine de Kapila (?) au bénéfice, semble-t-il, du Mahīdharendrāśrama et du Rudrāśrama (fin du X^e siècle E.C. et suiv.) et de la fondation, daccompagnée de la délimitation d'un domaine, du V.K.A. Śivaliṅga (1001 A.D.). Il convient d'ailleurs de souligner que des bornes de pierre (vx. khmer : *śilāgola*, cf. insc. K. 153) ont été retrouvées dans le périmètre du sanctuaire A et des *gopura* G et H au cours du dégagement. L'édification de tout ou partie de ces diverses constructions angkoriennes, les restaurations, ne paraissent pas, d'après l'aspect du décor des sculptures mises au jour, antérieures au XI^e siècle E.C. (style du Baphuon). Il parait peu vraisemblable que le domaine de Kapila qui semble avoir fourni les matériaux de réemploi aux fondations nouvelles, se soit trouvé fort éloigné du site de Robang Romeas. Tout se passe comme si, à l'occasion du renouveau d'activité manifesté dans la région, les constructeurs avaient prélevé ce qui était récupérable parmi les ruines de sanctuaires préangkoriens plus ou moins terminés (p. ex. le linteau ébauché utilisé pour l'avant-corps du sanctuaire A, fig. 4 A et B). Dans cet ensemble, seul sans doute était encore en état le sanctuaire A. La beauté et l'intérêt de son décor figuré pouvaient légitimer l'èdification d'un avant-corps plus ou moins inspiré des dispositions désormais adoptées pour la construction. Le réemploi d'une inscription ne saurait nous surprendre davantage ; on en connait de nombreux exemples et la coloration viṣṇuite du texte s'accordiat assez bien avec l'iconographie des reliefs demeurés *in situ*. La sculpture des nouveaux linteaux (avant-corps et *gopura*, linteau ouest), d'inspiration entièrement kṛṣṇaite, utilise au mieux les données épigraphiques où apparaissent les mentions de Vāsudeva, i.e. Kṛṣṇa, et de "l'ennemi de Mura" (Kṛṣṇa).

Les sculptures préangkoriennes du sanctuaire A.—Seuls éléments que nous décrirons ici, ce sont : deux paires de colonnettes cylindriques provenant du *gopura* et de l'avant-corps (fig. 3), un décor de piédestal, deux linteaux (Anantaśayanamūrti de Viṣṇu, fig. 2,et linteau à personnages sous arc, ébauché, fig. 4B) et, surtout, un pilastre à figure d'un type jusqu'à présent inconnu dans l'art khmer aussi bien que dans l'art du Sud-est àsiatique (fig. 1). Parmi ces pièces, le linteau Anantaśayanamūrti était seul connu au travers de la description de Parmentièr (cf. *supra*) avant le dégagement. Avec le pilastre, ce sont les deux seules sculptures demeurées *in situ* ; le piédestal avait été déplacé, les autres pièces sont des réemplois. Leur origine exacte ne saurait être, actuellement, déterminée mais on verra que ces diverses sculptures peuvent être considérees comme sensiblement contemporaines les unes des autres.

Les **colonnettes**, avec leurs bulbes bien distincts, leur bague supérieure à pendeloques et anses perlées encadrant une longue feuille ondulante, limitée par un filet saillant, leur bague centrale formée d'un bandeau décoré de fleurs de face compris entre deux filets, leur bague inférieure à feuilles légèrement recourbées, limitée comme la bague supérieure par un filet, enfin les simples filets coupant les nus aux quarts, paraissent appartenir au style de Prei Kmeng. Encore proches du style de Sambor Prei Kuk (p. ex. Vat Chong Ek, musée de Phnom-Penh) on peut sans doute les considérer comme de la fin de la première moitié du VII^{e} siècle E.C^{6}. La **pièce décorée du piédestal**, ornée d'élèments végétaux plus ou moins stylisés, n'autorise aucun rapprochement absolument net mais n'est pas sans quelques rapports avec le décor des pilastres d'angles de la cellule de Han Chei, d'une date sans doute assez voisine de celle proposée pour les colonnettes.

L'ensemble formé par le linteau et le pilastre est autrement important car il est, comme nous le soulignions, actuellement unique dans l'art khmer du double point de vue de la construction et de l'iconographie. Il avait été admis jusqu'à présent, sans l'ombre du moindre doute, que dans la construction khmère le linteau décoratif reposait toujours sur deux colonnettes mais au sanctuaire A du groupe voisin de Robang Romeas, ce sont des pilastres (un seul a été retrouvé en place) qui jouent le rôle traditionnellement imparti aux colonnettes. Cette composition paraissant aujourd'hui unique, il est permis de se demander s'il ne s'agit pas de quelque tentative sans lendemain, d'une forme d'art propre aux fondations des seigneurs d'Indrapura, Narasiṁhagupta ou ses héritiers...Le nom d'un grand vassal terminé en °*gupta* ne fournit guère d'indication ; quoique peu attestés au Cambodge, les noms en °*gupta* se retrouvent tout au long de l'histoire et, en tout état de cause, nous ne saurions oublier que l'inscription qui nous apporte ces précisions est en réemploi. On ne peut manquer de remarquer d'autre part que, dans le site proche de Sambor Prei Kuk, d'une date assez voisine dans son ensemble, il n'a été retrouvé qu'un nombre infime de colonnettes entières ou fragmentaires. La possibilité de découvrir une composition analogue à celle du sanctuaire A parait faible[7] mais ne peut être exclue *a priori*. Seuls des dégagements systématiques pourraient permettre de trancher une question que nul n'aurait songé à poser avant la découverte du pilastre de Robang Romeas.

L'ensemble constitué par le linteau et les pilastres est une composition iconographiquement recevable : le pilastre nord s'ornant d'une Yamunā montée sur la tortue, il est légitime de supposer que le pilier sud, à l'instar de tous les exemples indiens connus, portait une Gaṅgā sur le *makara*. Gaṅgā, née du pied de Viṣṇu, peut trouver naturellement sa place sous l'Anantaśayanamūrti de Viṣṇu illustrée par le linteau. Si la référence aux traditions indiennes parait certaine dans l'utilisation, de part et d'autre de la porte, du thème de Gaṅgā et de Yamunā, aucun rapprochement très net n'est permis avec un prototype quelconque. Une influence est indiscutable, mais il ne s'agit aucunement d'une copie pure et simple et toute tentative de datation des reliefs de Robang Romeas A ne peut être tentée qu'à partir de comparaisons internes concernant le style des figures.

Le **linteau** (fig. 2) représente le sommeil de Viṣṇu sur Ananta—ou Śeṣa, dont on connait plusieurs versions dans l'art préangkorien. Une ronde-bosse du Phnom Bathê, de très grande taille et malheureusement altérée par des arrangements modernes[8], parait la plus ancienne de toutes. Un groupe de trois linteaux du style de Prei Kmeng (variante à figures) provenant de Tuol Ang, de Vat Tang Kasang et de Tuol Baset, a été publié à plusieurs reprises[9] ; il convient d'y ajouter la composition assez différente de la cellule de Han Chei[10] où l'Anantaśayanamūrti apparait deux fois, en symétrie, et où manque la naissance de Brahmā. Les trois linteaux, avec des différences de détail importantes, n'ont en commun qu'une position chronologique voisine et l'illustration d'un même thème particulièrement dépouillé. Ce n'est qu'à Robang Romeas que nous assistons à un certain développement. Trois petits personnages apparaissent près des pieds de la divinité : une figure féminine dans laquelle on peut reconnaître Lakṣmī, et deux personnages masculins dans une attitude de fuite ou de combat qui semble permettre de les identifier comme les démons Madhu et Kaiṭabha (le caractère démoniaque du seul personnage à peu près intact est souligné par sa chevelure bouclée). Le linteau parait avoir subi quelques dégradations depuis sa description par Parmentier, les têtes de Brahmā ont disparu de même que la massue notée pour le personnage le mieux conservé. Comme sur les autres linteaux de la série, à l'exception de celui de la cellule de Han Chei, Viṣṇu ne porte aucun attribut. La facture est un peu inégale : les démons sont pleins de vie, emportés par un mouvement impétueux, l'image de Viṣṇu est au contraire un peu gauche, avec des jambes trop courtes et des mains franchement médiocres. Les comparaisons avec les oeuvres préangkoriennes porteront sur la vêture des diverses figures, sur la parure de Viṣṇu et sur la technique d'exécution.

Le vêtement n'est bien discernable que pour Viṣṇu. Il est assez déroutant parce qu'il ne correspond avec exactitude à aucun des types que nous avons pu préciser pour la ronde-bosse[11] et que les rapprochements connus, peu nombreux, sont peu instructifs. Il s'agit d'un *sampot* comportant l'indication d'un plissé oblique et présentant une petite "chute en ancre" inclinée de son propre poids. La "chute en ancre" rappelle celle du Viṣṇu de Thnal Toutung Thngai, *alias* Chong Pisei (musée de Phnom-Penh) qui appartient au style B du Phnom Da, soit aux dernières années du VIº siècle E. C. ou aux premières du VIIº (P. Dupont), mais l'indication du plissé est toute différente à Robang Romeas (Viṣṇu et démons) et relève manifestement d'une autre tradition. Traduisant un enroulement du tissu sur les cuisses au lieu de rayonner à partir de l'attache de la ceinture comme dans le style du Phnom Da, nous le retrouvons, plus stylisé, au linteau de Tuol Baset et dans l'art cham (style de Mī-so'n E. 1 : contremarche du piédestal de Mī-so'n E. 1, Gaṇeśa de Mī-so'n E. 5, *ca* début de la seconde moitié du VII^{e} s. E.C.) mais alors toujours associé à un ajustement comportant un vaste "drapé en poche" qui n'existe nullement à Robang Romeas. Finalement, l'étude du vêtement n'apporte pas d'indications précises dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances sur la statuaire préangkorienne.

Avec l'étude la parure, nous abordons un terrain moins mouvant. Encore que la ronde-bosse, généralement dotée de bijoux mobiles, ne fournisse que des exemples peu nombreux, les points de comparaison semblent plus précis. Le *sampot* de Viṣṇu est maintenu par deux ceintures juxtaposées, l'une d'étoffe et l'autre orfévrie, constitueé d'une large chainette avec grand fermail ciselé. Cette ceinture s'apparente, plus ou moins, aux types connus par la Lakṣmī de Koh Krieng (musée de Phnom-Penh), l'Avalokiteśvara de Rach-già et, surtout, le Gaṇeśa cham de Mī-so'n E. 5 et même le Vṣṇu de Da-nghi[12]. Il s'agit donc d'un type de ceinture utilisé pendant une période assez longue, de la fin du premier tiers du VII^{e} s. E.C. au début du VIII^{e} probablement, et connu au Champa pendant la période où se manifeste l'influence préangkorienne[13]. Les bracelets, le collier, n'ont rien de caractéristique. Les pendants d'oreilles, circulaires, n'autorisent pas de comparaisons de détail, les autres exemples connus étant, d'une manière générale, trop érodés mais ils semblent assez proches de ceux du Viṣṇu Anantaśayana du linteau de Vat Tang Kasang considéré come le plus ancien du groupe édité. La mitre est heureusement plus instructive. Encore que les images en ronde-bosse ne possèdent qu'une mitre réduite à son volume le plus simple du fait qu'elle était destinée à supporter une coiéure prffcieuse orfévrie[14], nous en connaissons bien les transformations successives. Nous avons aussi la possibilité de comparaisons avec les mitres figurées sur les reliefs (linteaux), toujours sculptées, par nécessité technique, recouvertes de leurs ornements ciselés. La mitre de Robang Romeas, d'une largeur constante, peu élevée, découvrant largement le front sans emboiter l'oreille, s'apparente aux types les plus anciens de la ronde-bosse et à la forme de Vat Tang Kasang, malheureusement trop usée pour être analysée dans le détail. Le décor, réduit à un ornement terminal hémisphérique et à un diadéme à trois fleurons, est le plus simple de tous ceux actuellement connus par les reliefs où l'évolution semble caractérisée par l'allongement progressif de la mitre combiné au développement de la partie terminale (déjà sensible sur le linteau du sanctuaire de Han Chei, bien plus accusé à Tuol Baset) et par un étranglement de la partie intermédiaire (Tuol Ang, Tuol Baset) qui aboutira finalement à la disparition de la partie cylindrique (fin du IX^e s. E.C. : style de Prah Ko). La mitre de Robang Romeas parait être, au terme de cette analyse; une composition du second quart du VII^o siécle E.C., antérieure en tout cas au milieu du siècle (Tuol Baset).

Du point de vue de la technique et du style des images, nous noterons l'étonnante parenté des figures secondaires avec les personnages des linteaux de Sambor Prei Kuk S. 1 (linteaux est, *in situ*, et ouest, musée de Phnom-Penh) : un trés fort relief, un modelé vigoureux, une tête un peu trop grosse, appellent un rapprochement immédiat. La moustache qui orne la lévre supérieure de Viṣṇu semble apparaître, pour les divinités en bas-relief, dès Sambor Prei Kuk S. 1 (Indra du linteau est), dans le second quart du VII^o s. E.C. sans doute. Elle n'est adoptée que plus tard dans la ronde-bosse (style de Prasat Andet) mais il a été maintes fois souligné que les innovations se manifestaient généralement dans le bas-relief avant d'être adoptées pour la statuaire (C. de Coral-Rémusat, J. Boisselier).

En conclusion à cette étude stylistique, nous sommes conduit à proposer pour le linteau de Robang Romeas A, en dépit de la fréquence de caractéristiques aberrantes, une date comprise dans le second quart du VII^e s. E.C., sans doute voisine de 630—640.

Le **pilastre** (fig. 1) rappelle, iconographiquement, la tradition de l'Inde centrale et, spécialement Sirpur (cf. Mme. O. Viennot : *les divinités fluviales de l'Inde*, mémoire actuellement inédit). La parenté architecturale de Sirpur avec la construction préangkorienne a été depuis longtemps évoquée mais les dates sont bien plus basses que celles qu'on peut proposer pour le sanctuaire A de Robang Romeas qui appartient d'ailleurs à un type constructions sans rapports avec Sirpur (corps de l'édifice scandé de pilastres en faible saillie, toiture à étages réduits et terrassons). Si le pilastre impose un rapprochement indien au premier regard, il n'en reste pas moins que la combinaison des divers éléments traduit une interprétation locale des données indiennes : aucun assistant ne tient le parasol surmonté d'un grand lotus renversé, la mer est symbolisée par des aniamux réels et mythiques, l'image de Yamunā, portant un bouton de lotus, est portée par une tortue assez naturaliste...Tous ces éléments appartiennent au répertoire indien et l'importance de leur apparition dans l'iconographie préangkorienne ne saurait trop être soulignée mais leur utilisation originale ne doit pas davantage être méconnue. C'est surtout l'image de Yamunā qui retiendra notre attention car elle présente un ensemble de particularités assez instructives. La facture parait plus médiocre que celle du linteau, la figure est lourde, les traits qui évoquent au premier examen les manifestations typiques de la statuaire chame (sans que le rapprochement soit justifié, croyonsnous), donnent l'impression qu'elle est due à un autre ciseau et il ne saurait être exclu que son exécution soit légèrement plus tardive. Cette hypothèse n'empêche pas que l'assemblage linteau—pilastres parait bien avoir été prévu dès l'origine en raison du daveloppement donné aux parties du linteau correspondant aux chapiteaux traditionnels.

Le vêtement de la Yamunā, avec pan médian, indication de quelques plis gravés sur les jambes et poche rabattue, est caractéristique des styles de Prei Kmeng et de Pre Kompong Prah (P. Dupont, J. Boisselier) mais less caractères propres à la Yamunā ne permettent pas de la situer au delà du style de Prei Kmeng pour lequel elle représente le seul bas-relief féminin actuellement connu. Ici encore, les éléments de la parure orfévrie incitent à des rapprochments. Le collier inférieur et la ceinture, en dépit de la médiocrité de leur exécution, s'apparentent aux types mentionnés plus haut. Le *kirīṭa mukuṭa* conique, entièrement orfévri, est par contre totalement inconnu dans la ronde-bosse mais les reliefs en fournissent quelques exemples dans l'art préangkorien (*mukhaliṅga* inédit de Huei Thamö, orants du linteau de Tuol Baset) aussi bien que dans l'art cham, avec des pièces que nous avons crû pouvoir dater d'environ 650-660 A.D. (style de Mī-so'n E. 1) et dans l'art de Dvāravatī, ou apparenté, à une date évidemment plus bases (stucs du P'ra Pathom, stèles de Muang Fa Dăd). Les autres éléments de la parure ne fournissent aucune indication,

Le stylisation du corps, aussi maladroite dans le mouvement que dans les proportions, exagère les tendances de la statuaire féminine des styles de Prei Kmeng et de Kompong Prah. La lourdeur du visage, accusée par les dégats subis par la sculpture, ne doit pas faire illusion. Au milieu de particularités imputables à la maladresse du sculpteur, quelques traits doivent retenir l'attention comme reflétant les tendances d'un style. Les arcades sourcilières saillantes, cernées d'un trait gravé, les yeux très grands aux paupières indiquées en volume, sont des caractéristiques qui se développment dans la ronde-bosse à partir du style de Prasat Andet mais qu'on note déjà dans le bas-relief vers le milieu du VIIe s. E.C. où elles semblent traduire une exagération du modelé du style de Sambor Prei Kuk (Lakṣmī de Koh Krieng, Harihara de Sambor Prei Kuk N. 10). Soulignons que ces tendances s'altèrent rapidement dès le VIII^e s. E.C. (style de Kompong Prah). Il n'est pas non plus indifférent de remarquer qu'en dépit de l'absence de toute commune mesure, aussi bien sur le plan esthétique que sur le plan technique, la Yamunā de Robang Romeas conserve quelques particularités de la Lakṣmī de Koh Krieng : abdomen fort avec dépression de l'ombilic profondément marquée (alors qu'ell est généralement masquée par le bord supérieur du vêtement dans le style de Kompong Prah), plis de beauté formant bourrelet sous les seins, mamelons des seins biem marqués mais sans volume...Quoique linteau et pilastre soient, de toute vraisemblance, l'oeuvre de deux sculpteurs districts, le temps qui peut s'être écoulé entre les deux exécutions ne saurait être considérable et 650 A.D. parait être une date limite pour le pilastre.

L'ensemble décoratif du sanctuaire A de Robang Romeas aurait ainsi chance d'être quelque peu postérieur au règne d'Īśānavarman mais il apporte de précieux témoignages sur l'art au moment où parait se constituer le style de Prei Kmeng. Sans tenir compte des indications fournies par le linteau ébauché (fig. 4 B) sur un type encore peu connu en raison d'un état trop imparfait, les analogies de détail relevées entre le linteau de l'Anantaśayanamūrti et ceux de Sambor Prei Kuk S. 1, monument de conception entièrement différente puisque pourvu de fausses-portes, conduiront peut-être à abaisser la date de ce dernier après le règne d'Īśānavarman I[15]. Nous aurions ainsi la preuve, au moment du passage entre les deux styles de Sambor Prei Kuk et de Prei Kmeng, d'une plus grande diversité et la thèse naguère émise par P. Dupont sur le chevauchement des deux styles[16] y trouve une nouvelle confirmation. Les données fournies par le linteau et le pilastre sur les ajustements masculin et féminin, au moment où se constitue le style de Prei Kmeng, aident à préciser la chronologie, encore flottante dans les travaux les plus récents, de la statuaire du VII^o siècle E.C. Mais, plus encore, l'apparition dans l'art préangkorien d'une composition insolite, liée à l'utilisation du thème indien de Gaṅgā et Yamunā, jette un jour entièrement nouveau sur la diversité des formules architecturales et sur l'importance de l'influence indienne au début du VII^o siècle E.C. La parenté qu'on croit reconnaître entre le pilastre et l'art des provinces centrales est un fait qu'il convient de mettre en parallèle avec la mention, dans l'épigraphie de Sambor Prei Kuk [17], du brahmane Durgāsvamin "né dans le Dakṣiṇapātha" époux d'une fille d'Īśānavarman I...Non seulement les contacts sont maintenus avec l'Inde au cours de cette période, ils paraissent encore établis avec des contrées diverses ; cette pluralité des influences a vraisemblablement joué un rôle important dans le développement de la civilisation khmèr.

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2. *Chmpl. à l'inventaire…*, *op. cit*, fig. 4, p. 30.
3. G. Coedès *Piédroit du sanctuaire au sud-ouest de Robang Romeas*, Bull. de l'Ec. fr. d'Ex.-Or , XLIII (1943-1946), p. 5 sqq.
4. P. Dupont, *les linteaux khmèrs du VII° siècle*, Art. Asiae, vol. XV, 1/2 (1952), p. 31 sqq.

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5. cf. H. Parmentier, *La construction dans l'art khmer classique*, Bull. de l'Ec. fr. d'Ex.-Or., XXXV (1935), p. 243 sqq.
6. Il est à noter que la chronologie des colonnettes préangkoriennes parait encore assez flottante en raison du petit nombre des exemples connus.
7. Nous inclinerions à penser qu'elle implique l'utilisation de linteaux à figures dont on ne connait encore que fort peu d'exemples.
8. L. Malleret, *L'archéologie du delta du Mekhong*, t. I, p. 403 sqq., (Publ. de l'Ec. fr. d'Ex.-Or., vol. XLIII, 1959).
9. particulièrement : P. Dupont, *Les linteaux khmers…*(*op. cit.*) et J. Boisselier, *Arts du Champa et du Cambodge préangkorien…*(*op. cit*).
10. H. Parmentier, *L'art khmer primitif*, p. 196, fig. 102 A (Publ. de l'Ec. fr. d'Ex.-Or., vol. XXI-XXII, 1927).
11. J. Boisselier, *La statuaire khmère et son évolution*, p. 22 sqq. (Publ. de l'Ec. fr. d'Ex.-Or., vol XXXVII, 1955).
12. Lakṣmī de Koh Krieng, cf. H. Parmentier, *L'art khmer primitif* (*op. cit.*) pl. 89 ; J. Boisselier, *La statuaire khmère…*(*op. cit.*), Pl. XXIX,1 et pl. 14 ; P. Dupont, *La statuaire préangkorienne* (*op. cit.*), pl. XXIV B. Avalokiteśvara de Rach-giâ : J. Boisselier, *La statuaire khmère…*(*op. cit.*), pl. 12 ; P. Dupont, *La statuaire préangkorienne* (*op. cit.*), pl. XII. Gaṇeśa de Mi-son : H. Parmentier, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments chams*, t. I, fig. 94 (Publ. de l'Ec. fr. d'Ex.-Or., vol. XI, 1909) Viṣṇu de Da-nghi : Ph. Stern, *L'art du Champa…*(1942), pl. 53 a.
13. J. Boisselier, *Arts du Champa et du Cambodge préangkorien…*(*op. cit.*)
14. Cet usage s'est maintenu presque jusqu'à nos jours au Champa. Les coiffures orfévries des *Trésors royaux* (Tinh-my) sont destinées à paper des statues de souverains divinisés au cours des cérémonies.
15. Cette hypothèse avait été déjà émise dans une étude de R. Dalet, *Note sur les styles de Sambor Prei Kuk, de Prei Kmeng, de Kompong Prah et du Kulên*, Bull. de la Soc. des Et. Indochinoises, t. XIX, 2 (1944), p. 7 sqq.

16. P. Dupont, *Les linteaux khmers...(op. cit.)*
17. *Inscription du piédroit nord de la tour N.* 16 (K. 438) in G. Coedès, Inscriptions du Cambodge, vol. IV (1952), p. 25 sqq.

Résumé of the article of J. Boisselier

NEW DATA ON THE PRE-ANGKORIAN ART : THE GROUP ADJACENT TO ROBANG ROMEAS

If it was admitted so far that the Pre-Angkorian sanctuaries could belong to different types characterized by a plan scanned with strip-pilasters or redented by the projection of blank-doors and by roofings constituted by small terraces or storeys reproducing more or less exactly the composition of the body, it seemed at least that the arrangement of their doors followed a unique pattern : in front of the frame proper is placed a decorative lintel supported by two little columns. The clearance of the *prasat* A of the *group adjacent to Robang Romeas* (P. Cottevieille, 1956) proves now the existence of another arrangement in which the decorative lintel rests on sculptured pilasters which assume the place and play the rôle of the traditional little columns, but introduce a decorative theme dear to India, but not yet observed in the art of South-East Asia : that of the river divinities, Gaṅgā and Yamunā.

Though only the northern pilaster (Yamunā) has been recovered (fig. 1), it is easy to admit, taking into account the whole disposition and the clear iconographic characteristics of the image, that the southern pilaster was decorated with Gaṅgā. The adoption of a theme so frankly Indian, the affinity of the composition with those of Central India, for example Sirpur (cf. O. Vienot's researches, still unpublished, on *the river divinities of India*), is a fact of particular importance, of which it would be yet premature to draw all the consequences. It should not however make us forget the originality of the composition of Robang Romeas : the Yamunā is not a copy pure and simple of an Indian prototype. The *ensemble* lintel-pilaster equally reflects an adaptation more or less free of Indian theme, not only in style, but also in iconography.

It is in the 2nd quarter, rather advanced, of the 7th cent. A. D. that we should perhaps place the reliefs of Robang Romeas A. This datation is permitted by a series of comparisons with the Pre-Angkorian styles. The lintel (fig. 2) seems to be the earliest known example of a series, rather limited, of lintels with figures (mostly unpublished) representating Viṣṇu Anantaśayana, the dates of which may be fixed towards the middle of the 7th cent. A. D. The iconography of this representation is the most complete, because it includes Lakṣmī and two other figures in which we may recognize Madhu and Kaiṭabha. Besides its iconographic interest, the Yamunā of the pilaster, the workmanship of which is more mediocre, is the earliest known figure in bas-relief in the Pre-Angkorian art ; it leads us to propose for the appearance of the *pocket-shaped drapery* in the female adjustment date a somewhat earlier than that which had been supposed up to now : probably as early as the period of overlapping of the styles of Sambor Prei Kuk and Prei Kmeng, that is, about 635-655 A. D. (cf. P. Dupont, *Les linteaux khmèrs du VIIe siècle*, Ar. Asiae XV, 1/2, pp. 31 sqq.) and not in the Prei Kmeng style, second half of the 7th century at earliest. For the determination of these dates of the decorative *ensemble* of Robang Romeas A, the inscription of 598 A. D. (K. 151), engraved on the northern pillar of the forepart (cf. G. Coedès, B. E. F. E. O., XLIII, pp. 5 sqq.), is unfortunately of no help. The inscription is actually on a pillar reutilized at the time of the edification of the forepart. At the same time—especially towards the beginning of the 11th century—diverse foundations were made in the whole Robang Romeas group, according to the evidence of inscriptions (K 153) and of the analysis of the sculptured elements (Baphuon style : fig. 4A). The reutilization of Pre-Angkorian sculptures—little columns (fig. 3), unfinished lintels (fig. 4B)—is frequent in these foundations. All the pieces seem to come from the old domaine of Ś. Kapila mentioned in the inscription, but none of them can be given so high a date,

F. H. van Naerssen

SOVEREIGNTY IN EARLY HINDU-JAVA

In Indonesia the historian's focus is undoubtedly the *kraton*, the name given to the residence of the ruler. This residence was the centre of the realm, the hub of religion and its priests ; of administration and its officers ; of art and its artists So we use the expressions 'kraton religion', 'kraton administration', 'kraton art and literature'.

Even while using these expressions one is aware of another domain beyond the kraton's sphere, namely the people's domain. But the Indonesian peasantry or *desa* dwellers as they are called, were illiterate and have left practically no clues for the historians, so that we are forced to rely almost exclusively on the kraton for our historical sources. These sources consist of the inscriptions issued by the kings, the manuscripts written by the kraton priests and poets and the stone buildings on behalf of the kraton nobility with the close collaboration of priests and artisans.

A study of several Indonesian kratons reveals great similarity in their main characteristics. There were, as a matter of course, differences also. To mention only the most extreme of these, we can distinguish between harbour kratons and agrarian kratons. Although it is tempting to go into the details of these differences, I will have to leave it for another occasion. At present I should like only to note the fact that from the early Hindu-Indonesian period there is more historical data at our disposal concerning the agrarian kratons than there is concerning the harbour kratons. A striking example is Çrīvijaya, once a seapower well known abroad, according to foreign documents, but leaving only a few inscriptions of its own from which one can hardly derive historical facts. Compared with the many inscriptions and impressive buildings originating in Central Javanese agrarian kratons of the same time, the Çrivijaya documents and architectural remains are rather poor in quantity.

I think that this can be ascribed to the differences in the respective political and economic organisations, as the harbour kratons were dependent on sea-trade, customs and tolls, while the agrarian kratons were dependent on the taxes and statute labour of their own subjects, the peasantry.

Therefore, because the harbour kratons dealt mostly with itinerant foreigners their relations were of a less stable nature than were the bureaucratic links between agrarian kratons and the sedentary peasantry by whose produce the former were maintained.[1]

These bureaucratic links are recognizable in the many Old Javanese inscriptions left by the Hindu Javanese kratons. They can give us an insight into the social and economic organisations of early Java, although, as I have said before, more from the point of view of the kratons than from that of the desa people. As everywhere, the consumer class, or to use Veblen's[2] term, "the leisure class", in this society also was essential to the existence of culture. This class had time and means enough to create literature and beautiful buildings, because it was maintained by the producer class. In plain words : the desa people, the peasantry, made cultural activity possible by paying taxes and by providing services for the kraton through a system of taxation and statute labour. The picture (albeit with rather blurred outlines) which emerges, is that of a ruler, living in his kraton, of chieftains, living in their own smaller residences, and, even less clear, of other, more or less, independent rulers.[3] To return to the system of taxation : tax is a modern word ; it had not the meaning in Old Java that it has to-day. To get a clear understanding of the taxation system in Hindu-Java and in later periods we should use the original Old Javanese expressions *dṛwya haji* and *gawai haji*, the literal meaning of which is 'the lord's possession' and 'the labour done for the lord', that is : that part of the desa's produce and labour force which the lord was entitled to take as tribute.

Connected with the tax system was the institution of *anugraha*. This could be exercised by the ruler, in fact by all who were entitled to the gawai haji and dṛwya haji. Anugraha literally means : a favour, a grant. The rulers could cede their propery to another. So they could renounce the dṛwya haji and gawai haji they were entitled to take from a desa, in favour of a high officer of the kraton, a monastery and so on. In this way a person or a community could be rewarded for rendering a service. Also by means of anugraha the lord was able to build temples, new public works, such as bridges, dams etc., or support existing ones. These, and other examples can be seen in the inscriptions as the motives behind many of the mahārāja's anugraha or grants declaring a desa or desas to be *swatantra*—independent—free of taxes and statute labour. In other words : he declared such a region a freehold.[4]

These were the main institutions regulating the social and economic relations between the kraton and its agrarian subjects, and they formed the base upon which the kraton organisation was built. They guaranteed the ruler the disposal of material and labour, and therefore enabled him to reign. In fact : the sovereignty rested on whosoever had the disposal of the dṛwya haji and gawai haji.

During the "Eastern Javanese period", that is, from King Siṇḍok's reign onwards (929 A. D.) the identity of these rulers is easy to establish. According to the inscriptions of this period it was, with a few exceptions, always the mahārāja exclusively who was the granter, who had the disposal of the "lord's possession" and "the labour to be done for the lord". He was the only sovereign and also the ruler over a rather large territory because the inscriptions bearing his name were found all over Eastern Java or the greater part of it. Such supreme rulers were without any doubt, Siṇḍok, Airlangga, the kings of the Kadirian period and of the Singhasari-Majapahit period. During the period of each king or dynasty, the functionaries or dignitaries attending the mahārāja were evidently classified in a certain fixed hierarchy. Also the whole framework of the inscriptions was mostly the same during the reign of a king or a dynasty.

It would be superfluous to give examples here because, guided by Damais' outstanding work* on the dated inscriptions of Indonesia, these can be checked by anyone who is interested.

But before 929, i.e. during the "Central Javanese period", we have to consider the possibility of a different Hindu-Javanese social economic structure. In an earlier article of mine[5], I presumed that in this early time there did not yet exist a central power ruling over a large territory.

Damais disagrees with me[6]. According to him the title of Çrī Mahārāja (or sang Ratu) indicates that already at the beginning of the Hindu-Javanese period in Central Java the monarch ruled over a *large* country.

To ascribe supreme authority to a ruler merely because the inscriptions mention him as a mahārāja and, at the same time, to deny authority to others who may possibly also have had sovereignty is, I fear, irrelevant to the social structure of the Hindu-Javanese period at this early stage in its history.

There are many examples of high sounding titles used by rulers whose area of sovereignty was not always completely in accordance with these titles.

We know that, in their annals, the Chinese emperors claimed to be the overlords of several countries in South East Asia, merely because these essentially independent countries sent their yearly presents as a kind of goodwill gesture.

In the "Myth of Great Majapahit" Berg discussed the actual power of the last Hindu-Javanese kingdom, Majapahit, in contrast with the claims made by the court poet Prapañca for the empire of his king. The reality was much more modest, according to Berg, than the elaborate summary of "dependencies" suggested.[7] When the once rather mighty Mataram shrank to the four puppet principalities into which it was divided, the heads of these principalities bore titles in inverse proportion to their power and significance.

The question of sovereignty at any given period is not simply a matter of titles, neither can these give us the extent of power wielded. One way that can lead us to a satisfying solution to this problem is the utilising of a basic principle, taking into account its modifications due to cultural, sociological and economic changes.

The principle, which, in my opinion, is adequate for our purpose, or that which will be applicable to agrarian kratons ruling over an agrarian population in

Old Java, is that which has been mentioned before : that there existed a relationship between the population of a certain area who tilled the soil and the disposer of a part of their labour and produce ; and that he (or they) who had the right of the disposal can be considered the ruler of that area, thus was the sovereignty of that area.

With this in mind, in the following we will try to evaluate the actual power exercised by several authorities in relation to the titles they bore. This will be done in chronological order mainly according to the well known "royal list" of king Balitung of 907 A.D.[8]

The history of the Central Javanese period was inaugurated by the inscription of King Sañjaya dated 732 A.D. written in Sanskrit verses and mentioning the erection of a *lingga.*[9] Apparently this deed set the seal upon the founding of the dynasty which commenced with Sañjaya. In this inscription Sañjaya is not called mahārāja, but 175 years later when king Balitung Rakai Watukura listed his predecessors, he went back to "Rakai Matarām, sang Ratu Sañjaya." Obviously Balitung considered Sañjaya to be the founder of the dynasty of Matarām of which he himself was the ninth ruler. The next inscription to be discussed is that of Kalasan (778 A D.). As pointed out in my earlier article[10], this inscription mentions two rulers of two different dynasties : one belonging to the Çailendra dynasty, the other to the just mentioned Sañjaya dynasty. The latter is called in the Kalasan inscription : "Mahārāja (Kariyāna) Panangkaraṇa", which is a Sanskritising of Mahārāja Rakai Panangkara, as he is mentioned in Balitung's list where he is the second in sequence. A striking fact is that, in this inscription of 778, the Mahāyāna-Buddhistic temple of Kalasan had been built and consecrated by the gurus of the Çailendra king, but **with the approval** of the Rakai Panangkaran. As I will point out, it was in his function of *raka*, that Panangkaran could give this approval.

Of interest is the inscription of Karang Tengah (824 A.D.). In the comment of his translation J. G. De Casparis draws attention to the dual character of this grant.[11] Firstly it is a bilingual inscription. A part written in Sanskrit verses (A) and another in Old Javanese prose (B). A begins with some verses devoted to Mahāyāna Buddhism. Then honour is paid to a Çailendra king and his daughter in connection with foundations. These verses are followed by the date and the consecration of an image. Further on, another Çailendra king is mentioned again in connection with a foundation and, finally, the instruction to future rulers to maintain the foundation. No mention is made in connection with lands.[12] B, on the other hand, starts with the date which is exactly the same as that mentioned in A, but goes on to say that at that date the Rakai Patapān Pu Palar and his wife made a donation of land in favour of an unmentioned foundation. The dimensions of the lands are given according to the quantity of their yield. This is followed by an elaborate list of desas, their representatives and other functionaries involved in the establishment of the donation. The last three readable words are: "Order of the Raka of Patapān."

According to this inscription the same procedure is followed (i.e. "building" a Buddhistic sanctuary by a Çailendra with the support of a native ruler, the Raka of Patapān) as was followed in 778 when the temple of Kalasan was built with the co-operation of the Raka of Panangkaran.

What real part the Çailendra kings played in the erection of the sanctuaries, in other words: what is involved in that "building of a temple", is not clear to us, except that in this early stage of Hindu-Javanese history we can expect that only the Çailendra kings were able to have a Buddhistic temple or other religious building consecrated according to the Buddhistic rituals and ceremonies, because only they had Buddhist priests at their disposal to properly accomplish the consecrations. But as the kings apparently belonged to a foreign dynasty[13] they were not entitled to dispose of local land and labour. They had no rights to dṛwya haji and gawai haji, the necessary assets for the completion of great works.

Although we have not yet a clear insight into the administrative system of the Hindu-Javanese society, the inscriptions of Kalasan and of Karang Tengah leave no doubt whatever about who had the right of disposal of the dṛwya haji and gawai haji. They were the Rakai Panangkaran and the Rakai Patapān. The "possession of the lord" and "the work to be done for the lord" were prerogatives of the Rakai Panangkaran and Rakai Patapān.

According to the available inscriptions, Panangkaran was the first Javanese who, in Central Java, bore the Sanskrit title of mahārāja. This has been ascertained not only from the contemporary Sanskrit inscription of the Çailendra king on the occasion of the consecration of the Kalasan temple in 778 A.D. but also from Balitung's list in the inscription of 907 A.D. The question arises: how did the Javanese Rakai Panangkaran acquire the Hindu title mahārāja?

There are two possibilities. The first needs some preliminary explanation.

Several hypotheses about the origin of the Çailendra dynasty have been put forward.[14] Most scholars agree with Coedès' result of investigations in this field, that the homeland of this dynasty was Funan in Cambodia. From other evidence also it appears that the Çailendra were foreigners in Java. For example their epigraphs have characteristics different from the rest—and greater part—of the Old Javanese inscriptions, e.g. they are written in pre-Nāgari script instead, like all the others, with a few exceptions, in Pallava or its derivative, Old Javanese script. And secondly, the peculiar form of Mahāyānistic Buddhism which the Çailendra brought with them.

An interesting fact which proves at least that they were considered to belong to an alien power in Java is provided by the inscription of Kelurak (782).

It is not a land grant, but it states that in that year a Mañjuçrī image had been erected and consecrated by the guru of Gauḍi on behalf of the Çailendra king.

This royal donation reminds us of another Mañjuçrī statue offered by prince Ādityawarman of Malayu to the Rājapatnī of Majapahit in 1393 A.D.[15] Apparently it is with the same intention that both the Çailendra king and the prince of Malayu sent to Java a Mañjuçrī statue or had it erected. Several instances are known, in particular of Mañjuçrī images, given to befriended states as a kind of good will token.[16] Or considering the particular function of Mañjuçrī, namely as the Teacher and Promulgator of Mahāyāna Buddhism and culture,[17] it is obvious that also in 782 A.D. this deity symbolised the introduction of the new religion by a dynasty from abroad.[18] These considerations lead us to the assumption that in about the middle of the eighth century, foreigners brought to Central Java not only a new religion—Mahāyāna Buddhism—but also at least from that time on "mahārāja" became a legitimate title. Because, as far as we can see, this title was applied to a raka for the first time in the Çailendra inscription of Kalasan (778 A.D.). Perhaps the title of mahārāja was bestowed on this Rakai Panangkaran by the gurus of the Çailendra king as a reciprocal of Panangkaran's anugraha. They were the most suitable officials to perform the act of bestowing the honourable title. But as I have pointed out before, politically and economically, this title was apparently not yet of such imporance for a raka, as it was to be about a century later.

Another, to me less attractive, answer (again merely hypothetical) to the question of the acquisition of the Hindu title mahārāja by the Javanese Rakai Panangkaran is the following : In the Kalasan inscription of 778 A.D. Panangkaran is mentioned twice as "Mahārāja Panangkarana" and once as "Kariyana Panangkarana". If this had been done purposely by the Çailendra gurus, we could imagine that when these foreigners came into contact with a Javanese ruler who apparently had authority to recruit the labourers and artisans for building the temple and also the maintenance of it in the future, they would name him mahārāja or rakarayan, which they considered to be equivalent. Anyhow, one thing is obvious ; the Rakai Panangkaran was an important person with power, to do the Çailendra king an important favour.

To come back to Balitung's list of kings and his inscription of 927 A.D. This whole list should be treated carefully bearing in mind (a) the time lapse and (b) the possibility of motives which Balitung might have had. Both of these factors could have affected the accuracy of the list in varying degrees.

Of the Rakai Panunggalan and Rakai Warak following Rakai Panangkaran in Balitung's list we have no contemporary data.

The fifth in this royal list however, Çrī Mahārāja rakai Garung, we meet also in an inscription dated 819 A.D. containing his order about an exemption from "dṛwya haji." But in this contemporary charter he does not bear the title of Çrī Mahārāja. Remembering our earlier test of authority viz. the right to dispose of dṛwya haji and gawai haji this is another instance that a raka, although not a mahārāja, had sovereignty.[19]

After Garung, Çri Mahārāja Rakai Pikatan is put on the list of 927 A.D. The oldest inscriptions which mention him are the two of 850 A.D. with almost the same wording, issued by Rakai Patapān pu Manuku[20]. Apparently Pikatan was not considered as the highest authority although he is called Ratu Rakai Pikatan, because the granter was Rakai Patapān pu Manuku and therefore also mentioned first. Pikatan appears in the background, as the first of several dignitaries. Thirteen years later, in 863 A.D., he again appears and again in two inscriptions with almost the same content[21]. Here he seems to be the most important person, mentioned first as the founder of a freehold, but without the title ratu. He is called **Rakai** Pikatan pu Manuku. The ratu however is Ratu Rakai Kayuwangi, and this time Ratu Rakai Kayuwangi is mentioned **after** the Rakai Pikatan.

Conveniently arranged :

850 : 1. Rakai Patapān pu Manuku—the founder
      2. Ratu Rakai Pikatan, the first of the dignitaries
863 : 1. Rakai Pikatan pu Manuku—the founder
      2. Ratu Rakai Kayuwangi, the first of the dignitaries.

De Casparis who considers the title of ratu to belong to the supreme ruler, suggests as the solution to the problem of the king's second place, that in 850 Rakai Patapān was in fact the preceding king, having resigned the throne in favour of his son the Ratu Rakai Pikatan. Although the exercise of his power is in the hands of the Ratu Rakai Pikatan, Patapān "is still the highest authority in the country."[22]

This is only an example of the very complicated hypotheses De Casparis needed to build up a fitting picture of the past with so little data at his disposal. I am well aware of doing some injustice to his admirable work, and therefore recommend his Prasasti Indonesia I and II to be read. Nevertheless I wonder if it is relevant to the social structure of early Hindu Java to start from the principle of the existence of one supreme ruler or dynasty. Is it not striking for Hindu Javanese historiography that Krom's handbook written in 1931 and the other books of Hindu Javanese history more or less based upon the first, dealt with only one existing dynasty—the Çailendra dynasty ? Afterwards the communis opinio is that there were **two** ruling dynasties—the Çailendra and the Sañjaya and, finally, when De Casparis succeeded in reading and translating some neglected but already known inscriptions and some other newly found epigraphs, there emerged from the past a third one, the Halu dynasty. Besides, the possibility first suggested by De Casparis, but immediately dismissed by him, of a dynasty apart from the other to which the Rakai Patapān must have belonged, sounds quite reasonable to me.[23]

So without taking into account the Çrī Mahārāja Rakai Gurunwangi of 886 A.D. and Mahārāja Rakai Limus dyah Dewendra of 890 A. D. there were, in the ninth century, at least three or four rulers in Central Java, bearing high sounding titles.

De Casparis has built up hypotheses whereby it seems as if three dynasties (the Çailendra, Sañjaya and Halu dynasties) were bound up in each other by marriages and by conquests at certain times. Although I will not deny such a possibility, the available historical sources are too limited and fragmentary to make his conclusions convincing.

I think that the historical sources at our disposal enable us to draw the conclusion that there were several independent rulers, some of them bestowed with the title Mahārāja or ratu, and others without such a title.

There was, however, a tendency already discernible in the two epigraphs of Rakai Patapān (and ratu Pikatan) of 850 A.D. to centralise the power. In these inscriptions we meet, for the first time, a board of kraton dignitaries. This tendency becomes clearer in Kayuwangi's inscriptions. Several of them are grants issued by Çrī Mahārāja Rakai Kayuwangi, "who gave his order down" to the highest kraton dignitary and this one to the following lower in position and so on in hierarchical sequence, until it had reached the functionary who had to administer the operation. This is the way that orders to execute a grant are described in the later inscriptions. However, at this stage, the development towards centralisation was in its infancy.

In most of his inscriptions "Çri Mahārāja Rakai Kayuwangi" was only partly involved in the founding of free estates, e g. those inscriptions found in Palengan (873-881) mentioning the founding of the sanctuary of Gunung Hyang by Rakarayan i Sirikan pu Rakap. Kayuwangi (n.b. not mentioned in the first place) indeed gave the Rakai Sirikan land for this object, but the latter obtained more land from other, apparently independent, authorities e.g. from the rakai Pagar Wsi, the *rāma* or elders of Haliwangbang, the *anak wanua* or residents of Ruhutan and from the *karāman*—board of elders of Mamali as a donation or by buying.

The difference between these two groups of inscriptions is obvious. It is apparent that the first group were inscriptions issued on behalf of Mahārāja Rakai Kayuwangi by his "ministers" who were also partly rakas. In the second group (Polengan inscriptions) the Rakai Sirikan pu Rakap apparently had the initiative. Another striking feature of the first group is that these inscriptions breathe a spirit of the more recent monarchical kratons, since the structure of the Polengan inscriptions is much more akin to that of the older Central Javanese inscriptions.

Here several local authorities are mentioned, apparently independent of each other, and of the Mahārāja Kayuwangi. They were all co-operating in different ways to make the foundation of the Rakai pu Rakap possible. The data of Kayuwangi's inscription leads us to the conclusion that there was a Mahārāja Rakai Kayuwangi who was already the supreme ruler over several rakas and presumably had the hegemony over other petty sovereigns. But apparently there were still independent rulers.[24]

The last Mahārāja mentioned in the inscription of Balitung (907 A.D.) is Çrī Mahārāja Rakai Watuhumalang. In the only contemporary inscription of his, dated 896 A. D., he is called *not* mahārāja but Haji Rakai Watuhumalang. Again an example of a ruler who, in his own lifetime, apparently had not the title of mahārāja.

A possible summary is the following :

1. During the earliest Hindu Javanese period in Central Java the raka had the disposal of dṛwya haji and gawai haji. So he can be considered sovereign over a number of communities (wanua etc.)
2. The title mahārāja was presumably a novum, introduced in about 750 A.D. by the then foreign dynasty of the Çailendra.
3. This title gave a certain higher status but possibly not more power to a raka. Panangkaran's rakaship gave him the authority to establish the Çailendra gurus : there is no clear evidence that his mahārāja title increased his actual power. The Raka of Patapān was not a mahārāja ; Rakai Garung and Rakai Watuhumalang were not called mahārāja in their contemporary inscriptions.
4. We have to consider seriously that although with Pikatan and Kayuwangi there came into being a beginning of centralisation of power, but that there still existed a number of independent rulers (also the pamgat ?) several of them still merely primi inter pares (rāma) in their communities.

The findings of the preceding historical investigation of the earliest Hindu-Javanese period when placed in a sociological context, lead to the following conclusions.

In a country like Java, for the greater part agrarian, sovereignty was held by the individual or group who had the disposal of the produce of the land and of the labour needed to acquire this produce.

As is assumed, the smallest and original Indonesian community in Java was the desa—the village-republic, a self-supporting unit, ruled according to its communal and traditional system by a board of elders, presided over by the first amongst the equals, the "father." There are several variations in the more or less hypothetical studies about the "original" Javanese desa but the main tenor is that paternalism reigns about the members of a desa.

Although much of the old desa organisation is not yet fully clear, perhaps we can cautiously derive from the Hindu-Javanese inscriptions some features of the wanua, which was apparently the original name of what later is called desa. We are familiar with the names of many *rāma* or *tuha* respectively "father" or "elder"—of a wanua. I need not give examples ; the instances in this respect are abundant. They are mentioned in relation to the founding of many free-holds. A wanua could be itself declared free from taxes etc., or their rāma could be mentioned as witnesses, being the heads of the *tĕpi siring* or adjoining desas. The inhabitants or members originating in a wanua are called the *anak wanua*, that is ; "the children of the desa."

Also several desa functionaries are known from the inscriptions : *tuha wĕrĕh*, the elder of the unmarried young men ; *hulair*, head of the water board etc. Anyhow, the picture we get from the Hindu-Javanese desa is that it was autonomous, self-sufficient and paternalistic in organisation.

In the inscriptions we meet a functionary whose title is *pĕmĕgat*,[24] *sang pamĕgat* or *samgat*. Several freeholds were founded by these pamĕgat. It seems as if they were acting entirely on their own behalf. Could it be that these pamĕgat originally emerged from the old desa organisation as experts, became indispensible, and gradually extended their power and acted as rulers ? Their real position in this early stage is hard to establish. Did they belong to the inter-desa group ? Or were they like the raka—but on a lower level authorities over several desas ? The answers to these questions cannot be given before a thorough and comparative study of all the available inscriptions has been made. At a much later time, during the Singhasari-Majapahit period, sang pamĕgat, samgat etc. had, among others, the meaning of "a notable man" and "someone experienced in," pointed out in my article of "De Saptopapatti."[25] As pamĕgat etc. is derived from *pĕgat* (experienced), and *amĕgati*, means "making a decision in" perhaps in the early inscription the pamĕgat was "the man who makes the decision" in important affairs like granting land. Or have we to consider more the meaning which *gat* had in several Indonesian derivatives, namely "noble" as in the Tagalog language of the Philippines, where *ang gat* is equal to Spanish "Don ?"[26]

An authority of higher order during Java's early history was doubtless the raka or rakarayan. According to the oldest available Hindu-Javanese historical sources I have noted in the first part of this article that he can be considered as the sovereign and the honorific Çrī Mahārāja, sometimes attached before raka, is incidental with regard to his real power, that is his power to dispose of material and labour.

It is understandable that the meaning of the title raka used during the whole Hindu-Javanese period of about 1500 years, underwent a change as was obviously the case with several other titles. I presume that this title primarily indicated the ruler of a number of communities which belonged under the jurisdiction of the community from which the raka originated, e.g. in one of the inscriptions of Polengan (of 876 A.D.) the Rakarayan i Sirikan pu Rakap traced out (*manusuk*) land in Jurungan which was under the jurisdiction (*watak*) of Pagar Wsi : The Rakarayan i Sirikan had been given this land by the Rakai Pagar Wsi. In the inscription of Balitung of 907 A.D. (the one with the "royal list") several regions are mentioned, which are under the jurisdiction of Patapān :..."and the forest of Susundara, of the mountain Sumbing, all under Patapān..."

So as to the meaning of raka, he was the ruler and sovereign of several desas. About the origin of the raka-function we can only guess that he emerged from the ranks of the desa-heads (the rāma—"father") and functioned as an "elder brother" (raka) amongst these rāmas. This could happen when the social and economic structure had been developed to an extent which required several communities to co-operate under one leader. The inscriptions give many illustrations of the founding of temples. It seems that this building of temples and their maintenance could only be performed by the co-operation of several communities.

The raka-ship was doubtless a pre-Hindu institution. Perhaps its coming into existence can be ascribed to ecological factors. The introduction of the *sawah*, that is the cultivation of wet rice, which required a complicated irrigation system, is based on the co-operation of several desas, all depending on the same river and its tributaries. It goes without saying that such an irrigation system needed a head whose authority reached beyond the single desa. Such a head could have extended his power over a federation of desas (to use a modern term) and be considered as the raka or "elder brother" of the rāmas of the desas. The raka should have the right of disposal of the produce and labour to fulfil his function properly. Hence he became sovereign.

Possibly, together with the birth of the sovereign raka, a leisure class developed, ruling with the raka from a central *keraton* or kraton, that is "the place of a ratu", a ruler, who certainly need not be the mahārāja, as Damais tries to explain. For several reasons I cannot agree with Damais' opinion that ratu is the Javanese equivalent of Sanskrit mahārāja-[27] Balitung's list of 927 A.D. mentions all the preceding kings as "Çrī Mahārāja", except the first—Sañjaya—who, although he was the founder of the dynasty, appears merely as "Rakai Matarām sang Ratu Sañjaya." Likewise Ratu Pikatan and Ratu Kayuwangi took second place, after Rakai Patapān and Rakai Pikatan.[28] Later in history, during the Singhasari-Majapahit period, as Schrieke pointed out,[29] the distinction between "ratu (panembahan) and *prabhu* was as follows : prabhu was used to designate the supreme ruler, while the connotation of ratu was more local in character."

The social structure just before the Hindu-Javanese period consisted of two main strata : the desas and the kratons of the rakas. The first functioning as producers the latter as consumers, but also politically as administrators and economically as distributors of goods and services. There was equilibrium between the power of the desa and the kratons, adjusted by the mutual need.

In this social structure of autochthonous Javanese origin a new social order was coming into being during the earliest Hindu-Javanese period. A raka could be given a high sounding title of foreign origin which gave him preponderance; apparently first in status and gradually also in power. This title is mahārāja.

Beyond any doubt, the inscriptions before and after the beginning of the tenth century reflect, as I have said before, a different character in the administrative system. The first (all found in Central Java) reflect an administration less stable and subject to modifications. After that date it is clear from the inscriptions that the new social order—whereby the mahārāja was the supreme ruler—ceased to be tentative and in need of external enforcement. The position of the supreme ruler was accepted and regarded as normal if not as just and desirable.[30]

What made the mahārāja's position vulnerable and critical was the fact that, being raka, he had to compete with rival rakas who were a threat to his kraton. His high and unique position, his royal and divine nature, needed legitimising and, once legitimised, needed to be constantly confirmed and reinforced by aesthetic and religious display. Priests, literates and artists were indispensible to a kraton. Therefore it is understandable that Hindu-Javanese art and literature flourished, particularly in the kraton.

Just as several wanua co-operating under a raka could accomplish more than a single wanua, so the supervision of a mahārāja achieved much more. Hence the possibility of building more temples and public works.

So the inscription of 1358 A.D.[31] shows us the realm of Majapahit, during its palmy days. King Rajasanāgara (Hayam Wuruk) granted privileges to the ferrymen who maintained services along the Benggawan and the Brantas rivers and their tributaries. That means that the king ruled over an area embracing at least Eastern Java and a part of Central Java. Such an anugraha of course, could be made only by a central kraton whose power far beyond that of a raka.[32]

However, our conception of a Javanese kingdom would be an unrealistic one if we applied to it the standards of a European state. It is hard to define the exact boundaries of a Javanese kingdom. A provisional definition of a Javanese kingdom could be: there was the kraton of the mahārāja and, more or less bound to it politically, a conglomerate of regentships (to use a neutral term for the rakaships of early Hindu-Java). As I have said before, the existence of the mahārāja and his kraton depended, to a large extent, upon the loyalty of these regents (rakas). There are several instances of kingdoms whose downfall was caused by revolts led by these regents: probably Dharma-wangca's kraton during the pralaya of 1006 A D. In any case Airlangga had to fight many local rulers before he succeeded in reestablishing his predecessor's kingdom.[33] The kingdom of Kadiri was successfully attacked in 1222 by Singhasari after Ken Angrok became the ruler of this former dependency of Kadiri. The deterioration of Majapahit's once mighty kraton is ascribed to the defection of the coastal regents. Besides, the history of Majapahit (and also of the Moslem kingdom afterwards) records many cases of revolts of local potentates who, again and again, tried to cast off the yoke of subjection.

Taking into account this particular pattern of the Javanese kingdoms we can imagine that after a break in the continuity of a dynasty, years could elapse before a new central administration could function properly.[34] A question : is there a possibility that this is the reason for a lapse of about half a century between the collapse of Kadiri in 1222 A.D. and the appearance of a contemporary token of the existence of a ruler, (Wiṣṇuwardhana) of Singhasari ? In other words, that the first rulers of early Singhasari were still under the threat of Kadiri and, having discord among themselves, were not yet in a position to bestow grants and the like on a large scale as mahārājas were supposed to do.

Schrieke wrote about the native rulers ;[35] recently Palmier discussed the position of the present day Javanese regents.[36] Although, during the course of history, the status and power of the "petty rulers" has altered many times they can be considered to belong to the autochthonous elite. The institution of supreme rulership ; the centralising of authority under a mahārāja, a sultan, or a susuhunan however, is one of foreign origin.

* The dated inscriptions mentioned in this article will mostly be referred to L.Ch. Damais, *Etudes d'Epigraphie Indonesienne*, Bul. de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient, XLVI (1952) and XLVII (1955)

ABBREVIATIONS

B.T.L.V.—Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
T.I.T.L.V.—Tijdschrift over Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.

NOTES

1. Cf. J. C. van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society*, 1955.
2. Cf. Th. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class.*
3. E. g. Bhagawanta of 804, Dang Pu Hawang of 827, Pitāmahā of 862, several Pamĕgat, Ḍapunta etc.
4. B. Schrieke made a beginning with the study of the Javanese landgrant system in 'Iets over het Perdikan Instituut", T.I.T.L.V., LVIII, 1919, and in "Uit de geschiedenis van het Adatgrondenrecht", T.I.T.L.V., LIX, 1919-1921.

5. Twee koperen oorkonden van Balitung, B.T.L.V., 95, 1957, p 447-448.
6. L.C. Damais, *Epigrafische aantekeningen*, T.I.T.L.V. 88, 1949, p. 22-26.
7. C.C. Berg, *De Sadeng-oorlog en de mythe van Groot-Majapahit*, Indonesië 5, 1951-'52, p. 413-415.
8. W.F. Stutterheim, *Een belangrijke oorkonde uit de Kedoe*, T.I.T.L.V., 67, 1927, p. 172-215.
9. The latest transcription and translation of this inscription has been made by H.B. Sarkar in Journal of the Asiatic Society I, 1959.
10. *The Çailendra Interregnum* in "India Antiqua", a volume presented to. J. Ph. Vogel, 1947, p. 249-253. Cf. G. Coedés, L'inscription de la stéle de Ligor : E'tat présent de son interprétation, *Oeriens* Expremus 6, 1959, p. 42-48.
11. J. G. de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia* I, 1950, p. 24-50.
12. Apparently this part (A) of the inscription deals only with religious matters, which were the main concern of the Çailendra.
13. See later on p. 8.
14. G. Coedès, *Les E'tats Hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, Paris 1948.
15. Cf. N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 1931, p. 392.
16. Cf. E.O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China*, 1955, and *Ennin's Diary*-translated 1955.
17. Cf. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion, by I-Tsing*, translated by J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, p. 169.
18. A striking feature of the Kalasan and Kelurak inscriptions (dated 778 and 782 A.D. respectively) is the emphasis placed on the relationship between the Çailendra *gurus* and Javanese Rakas rather than on the relationship between the latter and the actual Çailendra kings. Would not this give rise to the question as to whether the Çailendra rulers did ever actually have their kraton in Central Java—could it be that the Çailendra "headquarters" were somewhere outside Java and that Çailendra influence undergone by Java in this period was only a cultural influence ? In this case the title of my article "The Çailendra Interregnum" mentioned in note 10 should have been something like : "Çailendra cultural influence on the Hindu-Javanese ruling class".

    Such a view and the view held by de Casparis, which is based on the hypothesis that the Çailendras had influence in Java because of intermarriage between the two ruling houses, need not be mutually exclusive. Like F.D. Bosch, however, I hesitate to attach much weight to ideas of influence spread through conquest or war during this period, in which so many magnificent buildings were erected—these achievements are only conceivable in terms of peace.

19. According to De Casparis (*Prasasti Indonesia* I, p. 124-126), Rakai Garung could be the same as Rakai Patapān.
20. J. G. de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia* II, 1956, p. 211-243.
21. Cf. L.C. Damais, *Epigrafische Aantekeningen*, T.I.T.L.V. 83, 1949, p. 4-5.
22. J.G. De Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia* I p. 124 sqq.
23. J. G. De Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia* I p. 124 sqq.
24. E. g. Sang Pamgat Tiruraṇu pu Apus 867, S.P. Hino, pu Apus 879, S. P. Yanggehan 875, S.P. Balakas pu Balahara (3 times in 880). They were all pamgat, which function is not clear to me. However, they acted independently.
25. F.H. van Naerssen, *De Saptopapatti*, B.T.L.V. 90, 1933, p. 239-258.
26. W.E.W. MacKinlay, *A Handbook and Grammar of the Tagalog Language*, 1905, p. 53.
27. L.C. Damais, *Epigrafische Aantekeningen*, T.I.T.L.V. 83, 1949, p. 18-20.
28. Inscriptions of Tjandi Perot (850 A.D.) in *Prasasti Indonesia* II, p. 211-243, and of Tjandi Argapura (881 A. D.) in T. I. T. L. V. 83, 1959, p. 18-19.
29. B. Schrieke, *Ruler and Realm in Early Java*, 1957, p. 74-75.
30. E. B. Reuter and C. W. Hart, *Introduction to Sociology*, 1933, p. 327 sqq.
31. See F. H. van Naerssen, *De overvaartplaatsen aan de Tolo-rivier in de middeleeuwen*, Tijdschrift Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, 1943, p. 624-638, and idem 1944 p. 724-726.
32. An example of a technical feat accomplished by the mahārāja in a case where the small communities failed is furnished by an inscription of 1037 A. D., in which it is related how the Brantas River burst its dykes, inundated the lands of many communities, and caused difficulties for trading vessels, so that the king's income (dṛwya haji) diminished. Previous efforts made individually by these small communities had been ineffective in controlling the waters of the Brantas, but when the greater power of the mahārāja exercised itself over the entire area and an organised effort was made, the result was highly successful.
33. Cf. the inscription of 1041 A.D.
34. Between the last inscription of king Siṇḍok (944 A.D.) and the first of king Airlangga (1021 A.D.) there is an interval of seventy seven years. Between the last inscription of the Kadiri-dynasty (1205) and the first of Singhasari (1264) fifty nine years elapsed.
35. In "Selected Writings of B. Schrieke" 1955, "*The Native Rulers*".
36. Leslie H. Palmier, *Social Status and Power in Java*, 1960.

Jacob Enskin

THE OLD-JAVANESE CANTAKAPARWA AND ITS TALE OF SUTASOMA[1]

§1. Character in general

The Cantakaparwa, though it obviously has been appreciated by Balinese students of ancient literature, has until now become little known among scholars outside Bali. Yet a closer study of this text written in the Old-Javanese language might prove well worthwhile.

The title describes it as belonging to the parwa genre, but its scope is wider as this might suggest. Indeed prose narrations of myths and epic stories—the normal stuff of a parwa—form the greater part of the book, but they are preceded, and their succession is sometimes interrupted by, paragraphs on the Old-Javanese language, especially, lexicography. The aim with which the work was composed may have been to impart all kinds of knowledge essential for the study of Old-Javanese literature. In the composition some parts have been borrowed literally from older texts, but more often they evidently are, or seem to be, recasts of works from Old-Javanese literature.

§2. Authorship

Though in the narrative portions the different tales are often linked up by genealogy (so that the whole often reminds one of a purāṇa), the connection as a rule is a loose one and it is well possible that the compilation—to say nothing of the original writing—was not made at one time or by one man. However, according to Friederich, who was the first to make mention of CP, its author was Kawidasi, "the follower of Byasa [Vyāsa]." [2] This he may have heard from Balinese tradition. KBW[3] mentions Kawidāsa as the reputed name of the author of a treatise on Indian metres incorporated in CP. This treatise is the much older Caṇḍakiraṇa. Tradition (with a slight variation in the name) may have ascribed the whole compilation to the author of one of its parts. Neither have I found the name of Kawidasi in CP, nor that of Kawidāsa in CK.

§3. Title

Apart from *Cantakaparwa* Friederich (loc. cit.) heard of *Ketakaparwa* as a title of the same text. Van der Tuuk (KBW 1·574b, s.v. *canṭaka*) thinks of a connection with *cetaka*, a designation for those tales that are not drawn from the ordinary kakawins (Old-Javanese sargabandhas). Some parts of CP, but not all, are indeed of this description. But, anyhow, I have not found the name *Ketakaparwa* in my manuscripts. All of them that have colophons give *Cantakaparwa* (variations :

in the first member *Canṭaka*—and *Cātaka*—, in the second—*prawa*) as the title, and the term *cantaka* is found in the beginning of the text. I take the first member of the title to be an Old-Javanese form, with spontaneous nasalization,[4] of Sanskrit *cātaka*, the name of the well-known bird Cuculus melanoleucus.[5] In this sense *cantaka* is used CP 11b in an enumeration of vows : *cantakabrata/ikaṅ cantaka aminta warṣa/* "The cantaka-vow : the cantaka means to ask for rain." Manuscript H on its first page even gives the title of the book as *Cātakaparwa*, but this may be later "correction." It has *Cantakaprawa* in the colophon. Why the name of *Cantaka* was given to the text might perhaps appear from the opening, but its meaning is doubtful. It reads : *awighnam astu/ nihan ikaṅ sarasa/ dwijodah kowi* (*towi* K) *marutah/ nihan pakṛti* (v.l. *prakṛti*) *nikaṅ cantaka/ bhaṭāra Manmatha/ akṛti bhuwana/* My tentative translation :"...Thus is the creation by the cantaka, god Manmatha, as he created the world," would imply that the cantaka is identical with Manmatha and that Manmatha is the god-creator.[6]

§4. Contents—Lexicography

CP begins with a large lexicographical portion (till 33a), in which the words are arranged according to their meaning : names of gods come first, later on words for "fire" (5b), "wind" (6a) , "mountain" (6b). There is a curious enumeration of men originating from different countries (8b) : *nara wwaṅ Malayu/ puruṣya wwaṅ Cina/ nṛ wwaṅ Paraṅ/ na wwaṅ Mumin/ jana wwaṅ Bhuwun/ bhutrawa wwaṅ Kliṅ/* etc. Van der Tuuk, who makes frequent use of CP, says : "As a dictionary CP, like the Javanese Dasanama, has little value, as it strains after subtle shades in words of the same meaning (examples under *bĕlo*, *kiraṇa* and *ambawaṅ*) and also contains imaginary etymologies (see under *kaneka*) ; most proper names in it are nearly unrecognizable (see under *daronama* and *suntikanti*) ;...it explains also words that have been borrowed from other languages, not only Malay, Madurese and Sundanese (see *aiṅ*), but also Moluccan (see under *gora*)." [7]

§5. Bhānwātmajaparwa

The first part of the narrative portion (beginning 33a) is chiefly devoted to epic stories, in which the Pāṇḍawaṣ and Korawas play a great part. Tales and series of synonyms alternate in this section. On page 46b begins the story of Karṇa under the special heading of Bhānwātmajaparwa : Patah (i.e. Kuntī), while performing austerities as a pupil of the reverend Domya, becomes pregnant by Sūrya and gives birth to Karṇa. She exposes the child on the Narmadā ; it is found and brought up by Widata and Suketri, who give it the name of Rādeya. The Korawas (whose names are enumerated ; cf. note to the translation 4), on hearing of Rādeya's excellence in archery, invite him to their court, marry him to Suntikanti and make him king of Awaṅga. When the Pāṇḍawas hear about this, Patah goes to Awaṅga, makes herself known as Karṇa's mother, but fails to win him over to the Pāṇḍawas. Kārṇa haa seven sons and then abdicates to perform austerities. The Korawas Duryodhana (Kurupati), Jayadratha, Duḥśāsana, Yuyutsu, Śakuni and Dhṛtarāṣṭra also resort to spiritual teachers and practise asceticism.

This passage bears a close resemblance to the Korawāśrama,[8] though there are a few divergencies, which may prove of some consequence. As in Krwś, Prajāpati does not grant the Korawas' wish that the Pāṇḍawas may die, because "the Pāṇḍawas are the content of the world." [9] The Bhānwātmajaparwa continues with the returning home of the Korawas mentioned above and the austerities of new characters, the last of which is Kuñjayakarṇa.

The story of this Kuñjayakarṇa is related more at length and is akin to the Buddhist legend of Kuñjarakarṇa edited by Kern. [10] In both tales Kuñjaya- (respectively Kuñjara-) karṇa saves his friend Pūrṇawijaya from hell, but the reason why Pūrṇawijaya is condemned to hell is different. In CP he arouses the envy of Kāma,[11] who enters into him and makes him interfere with a widadari. Kuñjayakarṇa saves his friend by the power of his yoga and by *wedamantra.* No trace of Buddhism in this version of the tale.

The following paragraph on the *aji jahinaṅ* (a knowledge imparting perfect charm to the lady possessing it) (50ab) is partly identical with a passage in Krwś. [12]

§6. Caṇḍakiraṇa

CP 52a—63b is the first half of the Caṇḍakiraṇa, an Old-Javanese treatise on several linguistic subjects (phonetics, metrics and lexicography), containing some quotations from the Sanskrit Amaramālā. Probably it originated in the time of Śailendra rule on Java (7th—9th cent. A.D.).[13] This part of CP is of great importance for our knowledge of CK, in the first place because it obviously supplies the text of the pages missing in the first half of the MS of CK itself (1-5, 8, 10, 11 and 13). Further on some passages which we find in CK are missing in CP (among others the place where the Śailendra king Jitendra is mentioned).

§7. Wiwudaparwa ; Pralapitaparwa

From 64a onwards again epic stories. Some parts are given a special title : the Wiwudaparwa (*wiwuda*<Skt. *vibudha*) begins 73a, with the tale of the apsara (a male person !) Aṅgarapraṇa ; the Pralapitaparwa (75b sqq.) tells how the widows of the Korawas (enumerated) follow their husbands into death.

§8. Sutasoma

The episode beginning 78a is given the title *Tatwa nira saṅ Kālakeya* "Story of Kālakeya." Text and translation of the tale are appended to this article. It is in substance the story of Sutasoma as told by mpu Tantular in his kakawin Puruṣāda śānta.[14] The jātaka of prince Sutasoma and the man-eater Kalmāṣapāda is well-known and has been told in many tongues and in various ways.[15] Tantular's version and those depending on it are essentially different from all others that have come down to us.[16] To mention only the most salient features : (1) The Buddha, who has descended to earth as Sutasoma, is identical with Rudra (as a form of Śiwa), who inspirits Puruṣāda (the name Kalmāṣapāda does not occur). (2) The character—essential in all other versions—of the brahman coming to recite sententious verses is absent and hence Sutasoma, captured by the Man-eater, is not liberated on parole to acquit himself of his obligations towards the brahman. (3) While the plot is thus considerably changed, the form is also new : nowhere else, as far as we know, was the tale the subject-matter for a kāvya complete in itself.

CP in outline agrees with Tantular. Apart from minor details the points of difference are : (1) CP gives more and often other genealogy. (2) The story of Daśabāhu winning his bride is rather different, it is told in the beginning and at much greater length. (3) Many persons have other names. Notwithstanding these divergencies—to which I shall come back in §14—there is to my mind no doubt that the author of (this part of) CP knew and used Tantular's work. This, I think, is proved by striking agreement, even in the wording, in passages that are characteristic of the kakawin as a literary genre. Thus CP 82a : *Amaṅgih parwata apiṇḍa danuja, atutuk guhālwa, amata śilāputih, kady abhūṣaṇa limut ampakampak, aswara guruh pracaṇḍa*, clearly follows Sut. XXXIV-4a sqq. : *Gunuṅ adbhutāsĕmu mahāsura katĕmu ri madhya niṅ wana/ matutuk guhālwa masiluṅ kĕpuh aruhur aṅanti riṅ gĕgĕr/mata tulya bhāskara śilāputih akalaṅan iṅ gunuṅ midĕr/ masawit latāgĕṅ aṅurambat i paraṅan ikaṅ mahāgiri//Baḍamanya megha ri ruhur luṅayan ika kuwuṅ-kuwuṅ mĕluk/saha bāyu bajra kumusuh kadi laku nika rodrāgĕṅ galak/* And Sut. CXX·7a : *Sakwehkweh para rājaputra maṅiriṅ lwir sarwwapuṣpānĕḍĕṅ*/obviously was the model for CP 85b : *dinulur iṅ para kṣatriya, kadi puṣpa manĕḍĕṅ*. Of course kakawin and parwa have much more in common, but in most cases the doubt subsists whether Tantular did not follow his source, the Boddhakāwya,[17] which then could have been CP's source as well. In the two given instances however, the kawi was on his own ground (the alaṃkāras) and could not but be original ; consequently the parwa here must derive from him. In §14 we shall see that, for the tale of Sutasoma, it probably also draws from another source.

§9. Cayabirama ; Suprasena

After the tale of Sutasoma comes a lacuna, which all my manuscripts have in common. It seems to be a wide gap ; D, G and H have the note : *hilaṅ satus kalih daśa*, which Van der Tuuk explains as "120 pages are missing." In D he therefore gives the first page after the lacuna the number 207.

After the lacuna begins the story of Cayabirama and his conflict with the rākṣasa Gunatama, who later on becomes his ally. In this tale passing reference is made to Sutasoma and Daśabāhu, but apart from that I have found no trace of Buddhist tendency.

The next tale (from 219a onwards) has a strong analogy to the tale of Sutasoma. The hero, Suprasena, like Sutasoma, is a bodhisattwa, or rather an avatar of Buddha (*pañjanman ira saṅ hyaṅ Jina*). The same tale seems to have been the subject-matter of a wayang tale, the lalakon Jinawikrama.[18]

§10. Kapiparwa

The last section of CP (226a-240) tells of the marriages of bhagawāns and widadaris, each couple having an offspring of numerous monkeys. Sugrīwa and Bāli, Hanumān and Rāma also enter the scene, and the text ends with Rāma adopting Sugrīwa as his brother and Hanumān as his son.

The table of contents of manuscript G aptly entitles this chapter Kapiparwa. No doubt it is the same text which Friederich[2] mentions as a separate book, "which contains the history of Sugrīwa, Hanumān and their ancestors in the dynasty of monkeys."

§11. Language

The language of CP is an Old-Javanese which, besides the old, shows many younger words and forms ; e.g. *aja* (passim), *orana* (82a), *norana* (85b), *kaṅ* (passim), *sakehe* (85b), *len* (passim), *aṅaturĕna, aturĕna* (86b), *aṅatĕrĕna* (213b). *jĕnĕṅĕna prabhu* (220b), *-a* forms of *-akĕn* verbs ; *den*—and *depun*—for the passive indicative *denpurugul*, (79b) ; *densembah*, (82b) ; *depunwalat*, (80a) ; *depunayunayun*, (85b). I have not found any unmistakable Balinese words or forms.

Van der Tuuk (KBW 1·573b sq., s.v. *caṇṭaka*) says : Its [CP's] language is of very young date, as e.g. appears from words like *siṅhanabda* in stead of *siṅhanāda* and proper names like *Srawaṅga* [cf. note to the translation 9], which are much corrupted in it (see also e.g. under *pṛthā* [>Patah, cf. §5]), whereas even botched Arabic words occur (e.g. see *pedah, bahit* and *purasani*) ; besides it uses Chinese numerals (e.g. *sam*), and now and then a Chinese word (*see camca*) ;..."

§12. Time of composition

It follows from what we have said in §8 that CP must have been compiled after the rule of king Hayam Wuruk (second half of the 14th cent. A.D.) whose contemporary mpu Tantular was. A terminus ante quem is found in the colophon of manuscript D :[10] it gives the year 1758 Śaka = 1836 A.D. As D is a copy of a palm-leaf MS from Kluṅkuṅ, this obviously means that this Kluṅkuṅ MS was written in 1836.

At this stage of research every attempt to determine the date more closely must imply a great deal of guessing. It seems probable that CP is posterior to Krwś. ; not because the Bhanwātmajaparwa would be younger than Krwś—which is not certain [20],—but because on the whole younger linguistic forms seem more frequent in CP. However Swellengrebel (40* sqq.) could not find a reliable terminus post quem for Krwś. Moreover, closer investigation of the material is required and one should bear in mind Swellengrebel's observation that one does not know whether certain linguistic features should be ascribed to difference in place or difference in time.

§13. Place

As to the question whether CP got its final shape on Java or on Bali I would not rule out either of the two islands. The verb forms in *-ĕna* (see §11 ; K as a rule "corrects" them into *-ana*), I think, make it probable that certain component parts at least, came to Bali very lately. But even then the formation of CP as we know it now, could have been achieved on Bali.

§14. Value

Works like CP as a rule do not meet with much appreciation at first sight. Their composition sometimes lacks harmony and the older sources often seem to be misunderstood. Van der Tuuk (e.g. see §11) stressed what he considered the weak points of the text : mangling of words and names, changing of names, misunderstanding or misrepresenting older tradition. Yet, as far as the second and third point are concerned, it must be questioned whether lack of understanding or negligence should be made to account for all the obvious divergencies between older tradition and the recapitulation. In many cases we do not know the model the author had before him or we are not sure about it, so that we cannot state the case clearly. Moreover we should bear in mind that the writer was not bound to the same code of historical and philological fidelity as we are and may have had his reasons (religious, political or otherwise) to alter the tradition in a way. For example we can well understand an Indonesian author (Tantular or a predecessor) giving the originally Buddhist legend of Sutasoma a Śiwaite-Buddhist tendency.

The tale of Sutasoma affords a relatively firm footing for dealing with these questions, as we have seen that the CP author knew Tantular's kakawin, though he may, and indeed is very likely to, have known another recension as well. We will therefore again consider the relation between kakawin and parwa.

It can easily be granted that sometimes misunderstanding is the cause of a certain difference. Thus *Kaṅgala* (CP 87a) should be *Aṅgala* ; cf. Sut. XCVII·1b *janakāṅgala*[21]. In the list of kings offered to Kālaweśma (CP 85a) figure many lords who in the kakawin (CXII) are said to be allied to Sutasoma and at that moment at the court of Hastina ; *prabhu riṅ Lĕṅka, Aruṇa, Sutāgra, Dasapata* (*<Daśapati*), *Gameka* (*<Gameki*), *Padmaketu, Jamaṅga* (*Jyāmaga*). *Subadĕtta.* This in all probability must be ascribed to the parwa author, who obviously had to scrape

together his hundred kings from every nook and cranny. He is, as far as known, the only one to give such a list. In our text it numbers only 97 names.

However, to my mind, it is not probable that error or negligence played an essential part in the more important differences (cf. §8).

In CP Daśabāhu's expedition to conquer his bride is an important element in the tale. Tantular gives a somewhat different story, which he tells very shortly (cf. note to the translation 10), compared with CP. One might think of explaining the parwa author's prolixity from just an interest in epic matter, but amplifying short passages from his source does not seem consistent with the general trend of his work, and this explanation does not account for his disagreement with Tantular as to the facts. We are led to suppose that he had some other source than Tantular's poem. Daśabāhu, in both the kakawin and the parwa, is the third character in importance—after Sutasoma and Puruṣāda—and Sutasoma's elder cousin, brother-in-law and devoted ally ; a formidable fighter against the demons. He is an incarnation of Brahmā (*Prajāpati*, *Dhātṛ*) and therefore his role seems to be essential. (In the tale of Suprasena Datawikrama, Suprasena's elder cousin, is also an incarnation of Brahmā.) It does not seem far-fetched to suppose that some poet sang the gallant feats of such a man with greater fervour and more at large than Tantular did.

As to the differences in the names, especially of Sutasoma's ancestry, these are so glaring that they can hardly be ascribed to error. For instance, in naming Sutasoma's father Candranātha the parwa author cannot have meant to follow Tantular, who gives this character the name of Mahāketu. The same holds good for the names of the ancestors of Sutasoma's mother and Daśabāhu. If the author did not find these names in some source (other than Tantular), he may well have had his reasons for the changes. Especially the linking up of Sutasoma's family with the Pāṇḍawas, in a sphere where the Pāṇḍawas and the Korawas played such an important part ("content of the world," §5), is very likely not an idle change (see Tale of Sutasoma CP 78b and note 5). Moreover we must be aware of the fact that Tantular, as a court poet, may have had occasion to rename his characters quite as well, and that CP might continue an older tradition.

* * *

Thus, far from being a compilation of stories and other material which we know already better from elsewhere, the Cantakaparwa, though apparently young, may prove a valuable source for our knowledge of Old-Javanese literature and its history. It certainly shows that literature kept inspiring ever new generations.

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NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. My special thanks are due to Dr. Pigeaud for various information and for help in finding the required manuscripts.

   In this article the following abbreviations are used. Brandes, Beschr. = J. Brandes. Beschrijving der Javaansche, Balineesche en Sasaksche handschriften aangetroffen in de nalatenschap van Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk en door hem vermaakt aan de Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek. 4 vols. Batavia, 1901-1926. CK = Caṇḍakiraṇa. CP = Cantakaparwa. Juynboll, Suppl. Catal. = H. H. Juynboll. Supplement op den catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek. 2 vols. Leiden, 1907-1911. KBW = H. N. van der Tuuk. Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch woordenboek. 4 vols. Batavia, 1897-1912. Krwś. = Korawāśrama. Sut. = Mpu Tantular. Puruṣāda śānta, also entitled Sutasoma kakawin. TBG = Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde uitgegeven door het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. VG = H. Kern. Verspreide Geschriften. 17 vols. 's Gravenhage, 1913-1936.

   Throughout reference is made to pages of manuscript D of CP.
2. R. Friederich. Voorloopig verslag van het eiland Bali (Verhandelingen Bataviaasch Genootschap XXII, 1849), p. 16.
3. II.208a, s.v. *kawi* ; quoted Brandes, Beschr. III.202a.
4. See J. Gonda. Sanskrit in Indonesia (Nagpur, 1952), p. 264.
5. *Cātaka* in the title of a work in Cātakāṣṭaka. See H. von Ewald, Das Indische Gedicht vom Vogel Tschâtaka, Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. IV (1842), 366-376, and M. Winternitz, Gesch. d. ind. Lit. III.150.
6. Van der Tuuk (KBW IV. 520b, s.v. *Manmatha* ; where these and the following sentences are quoted) thinks this opening a support for a later explanation of Modern-Javanese *Marmata* (<*Manmatha*) by *baṭara Guru*. On the identification of Kāma with Śiva cf. J. J. Meyer, Trilogie altindischer Mächte and Feste der Vegetation (Zürich/Leipzig, 1937), I.36 and 40. Cf. also CP 52a (opening of CK) : *Kiraṇa wiyati-candāgni dwijadakowimarutara* (*-marutsa* K) *nāhan byakta pinakaśarīra bhaṭāra Mijwala milwajanmāṅgawe bhuwana...*
7. KBW I.574a sq., s. v. *canṭaka* ; quoted Brandes, Beschr. III.205b sq.
8. Korawāçrama. Een Oud-Javaansch prozageschrift, uitgeg., vert. en toegelicht door J. L. Swellengrebel. Thesis Leyden, 1936.
9. *Pāṇḍawa iku paṅisi niṅ jagat* (49a). Cf. Krwś. 14. 8 sq. : *paran bĕcikane noraa Korawa Pāṇḍawa, apan paṅisi niṅ bhuwana.*

10. H. Kern. De legende van Kuñjarakarṇa volgens het oudst bekende HS met OJav. tekst, Ndl. vert. en Aantt. Verh. Kon. Acad., Afd. Lett. NR III.3, Amsterdam, 1901 (=VG XI sqq.).
11. *Rāma* (KBW IV.63b, s. v. *pūrṇna*) is a misprint.
12. Krwś. 134 sqq. Both passages quoted KBW IV.346b sqq., s.v. *jahinaṅ*.
13. Raden Saleh in the former century donated a palm-leaf MS of this work to the Batavia Society of Arts and Letters, to which the Leyden Codd. Or. 4570 and 4571 (bequeathed by van der Tuuk) go back. On the Jakarta MS see K. F. Holle, TBG XVI (1867), 461 sqq. ; on the Leyden MSS Brandes, Beschr. III.202a sqq. and Juynboll, Suppl. Catal. I.170 sqq. ; on the second half of CK (lexicographical ; not included in CP) H. Kern, Un dictionnaire Sanskrit—Kavi, Actes VIième Congr. Internat. des Orientalistes III,2, Leyden, 1885 (=VG IX.273 sqq.); on the historical value of CK N. J. Krom, Over het Çiwaïsme van Midden-Java, Med. Kon. Akad., Afd. Lett., LVIII, B8, p. 203 sqq., also his Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis (² 's Gravenhage, 1931), 12 and 150 sqq.

    As to the title of the text opinions differ. Two places supply evidence in this question. (1) The beginning of the text as found in CP (it is missing in the MSS of CK itself). It reads : *Kiraṇa wiyati candāgni* (obviously for *caṇḍāgni*)......(Cf. note 6). Probably it was van der Tuuk who gave the treatise the title of Caṇḍakiraṇa on the strength of this opening. It is not clear how it should be more in favour of Brandes's conjecture *Candrakiraṇa* (Beschr. III.202a).

    (2) The colophon of the MSS of CK. In the Leyden copies it begins with *Iti candataraṇa*, but Krom, who used the Jakarta MS, says that it appears from that MS that the right name is *Candakaraṇa*. On the strength of *candataraṇa* van der Tuuk once suggested *Chandahprakaraṇa* (KBW I.573a, s.v. *canṭaka* ; the quotation in Brandes, Beschr III.205b may give rise to misunderstanding). Both Krom's reading and van der Tuuk's *Chandahprakaraṇa* seem to be built upon the supposition that CK is primarily a "treatise of metrics." However metrics is only one of its subjects. And, as the opening words seem to point to Caṇḍakiraṇa, as the vowel sign for i is easily and often dropped, and as words for the great celestial luminaries are often considered suitable names for treatises and commentaries in Indian literature (*caṇḍakiraṇa*, the hoy-rayed, i.e. the sun), it seems to me that the traditional Caṇḍakiraṇa is indeed the original title.
14. The text with a Balinese and an Indonesian translation by I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa is being published serially (Sutasoma...Denpasar, 1959...).
15. Cf. K. Watanabe, The story of Kalmāṣapāda and its evolution in Indian literature, Journ. Pali Text Soc. 1901, pp. 236 sqq.

16. Cf. H. Kern, Over de vermenging van Çivaïsme en Buddhisme op Java naar aanleiding van het Oudjavaansch gedicht Sutasoma, Versl. en Meded. Kon. Akad., afd. Lett., 3e Reeks V, Amsterdam, 1888 (=VG IV.149 sqq.), and J. Ensink, De Menseneter bekeerd, Hand. XXVIe Ndl. Filologencongres (Groningen, 1961), 220 sqq.
17. Sut. I.4a : *Pūrwwaprastāwa niṅ parwwaracana ginĕlar saṅka riṅ Boddhakāwya*/Nothing more is known about it.
18. Cf. KBW IV.353a, s.v. *Jina*.
19. Quoted Brandes, Beschr. III.207b sq., nr. 1189.
20. Swellengrebel (p. 7*) supposes that CP [viz. the Bhānwātmajaparwa] goes back to a recension which differred considerably from the Korawāśrama we know.
21. Other changes are signalized in the notes to the translation 9, 10, 13, 31 and 35.

THE TALE OF SUTASOMA (CP 78a-87b)

Text*

78a. Puniki[1] tatwa nira saṅ Kālakeya. Saṅ Kālakeya aṅalap anak saṅ Mālyawān wuruju, rākṣasī ṅaran dewī Anīlā ; maputra kakalih, paḍa kakari, ṅaran saṅ Hiraṇya, saṅ Kaśipu. Saṅ Hiraṇya mapriyā[2] anak ira saṅ Khara, rākṣasī ṅaran saṅ Sumina[3] ; maputra lilima, paḍa kakuṅ, ṅaran saṅ Solara, saṅ Śakuni, saṅ Duṣkṛta, Mānakaṅśa, saṅ Cora. Saṅ Śakuni marabi wĕka nira saṅ Duṣkṛta, rākṣasī ṅaran Ratmaka ; masuta sasiki, ṅaran saṅ Sudasa. Saṅ Sudasa marabi rākṣasī ṅaran saṅ Wiratma, anak ira saṅ Kruddhākṣa ; maputra sasiki, jalu, mawulu dom wĕsi, ṅaran saṅ Puruṣāda, macarma loha, titis ira bhaṭāra Paśupati, mahyun[4] amubura ṅ jagat, sinawita[5] de niṅ danuja, bhūta, piśāca, khagawaktra, hastīndrawaktra, āditya ; Jayawiṣṇu, Wimona[6], Indrabajra, Kubhūmi, Sumala, Kumala[7], Pralĕmba, Duloma, Durmendagra[8], Bajra, Kaluṣa, Dhūmawadwa, Subhaṅga, Ketu, Durlakṣaṇa, taṅeh yan wilaṅĕn kwehnya.

78b. Biṣa nira saṅ Sudasātmaja[9] denyārĕp amahaywa ṅ jagat, maṅka[10] cinidra riṅ bhoga. Ḍinaharan gaṅan hares naṅkĕn dina, maṅka ta kahĕrĕb taṅan iṅ aolah[11] gaṅan, katut[12] rahnya riṅ[13] hares, milu kaolah, winirāman[14] de[15] saṅ Purosada. Aṅrasa biṣa, tinakonan punaṅ[16] aolah[11] "Paran raragine[17] denta olah biṣa rasane awuduk[18] amanis ?" Sumahur punaṅ abĕṭĕk : "Siṅgih, taṅan iṅ patik[19] Bhaṭāra kahĕrĕb ; katut rah, kakĕla[20] pukulum." Maṅka aṅrasa ṅ bhūtarāja,[21] wĕruh yen enak iwak woṅ. Maṅkwa tinĕwĕk punaṅ abĕṭĕk, iṅolah, pinaṅan, arasa[22] wuduk amanis. Maṅka maṅalap janma lanaṅ wadon, pinaṅan. Maṅke kinen kaṅ[23] bala danuja maṅalap janma. Maṅkwa ta kawĕs taṅ mānuṣa, paḍa maṅili, muṅsi[24] deśa nagara.

Tucapa śeṣa niṅ Korawa pĕjah,

Translation

78a. This is the story of Kālakeya. Kālakeya took to wife the youngest child of Mālyawān, a rākṣasī called princess Anilā ; he had two children, both boys, named Hiraṇya and Kaśipu. Hiraṇya wedded a child of Khara, a rākṣasī called Sumina ; he had five children, all boys, whose names were Solara, Śakuni, Duṣkṛta, Mānakaṅsá and Cora.[1] Śakuni married the daughter of Duṣkṛta, a rākṣasī called Ratmaka ; he had one son, who was given the name of Sudasa. Sudasa married a rākṣasī called Wiratma, a daughter of Kruddhākṣa ; he had one child, a son named Puruṣāda. The hairs on the body of this son were iron needles and he had an iron skin.[2] He was possessed by[24] god Paśupati, who wished to destroy the world. He was obeyed by danujas, bhūtas, piśācas, demons with a bird's face,

demons with an elephant's face and the like: Jayawiṣṇu, Wimona, Indrabajra, Kubhūmi, Sumala, Kumala, Pralĕmba, Duloma, Durmendagra, Bajra, Kaluṣa, Dhūmawadwa, Subhaṅga, Ketu, Durlakṣaṇa, it would be too long to count their number.

78b. Powerful was Sudasa's son as he wished to bring the world to prosperity, but then he was deceived by way of his food. A dish of fresh banana stalks was served to him every day. Now the person who cooked the food cut his hand, the blood ran upon the stalks, it was cooked together with them, and Purosada enjoyed it.[3] He found that its taste was racy, and asked the cook: "What did you put into this, that it tastes so racy, rich, and sweet?" And the cook answered: "Indeed, the hand of your Majesty's servant was cut, the blood ran into it, and I cooked it, my lord." Then the king of the bhūtas tasted it [again] and learned that men's flesh is nice. And so he stabbed the cook, cooked and ate him, and found his taste rich and sweet. Then he caught men and women and ate them. Then the danuja troops were ordered to catch man. And so the people became afraid; they all fled, taking refuge in villages and cities.

Let us now tell of those Korawas that escaped death.

kantun kakalih,[25] ṅaran saṅ Wīrabāhu, saṅ Sranama. Saṅ Sranama matakut i[26] saṅ Pāṇḍawa, maṅuṅsi wukir Wanawatī, maguru[27] riṅ bhagawān Atri, pinaraban bhagawān Sumitra. Saṅ Wīrabāhu asĕnĕtan riṅ sramawana; tĕlas iṅ[28] Korawa.

Saṅ Pāṇḍawa aṅadĕg[29] ratu riṅ[30] Hastina, maṅulah sāma dāna[31] riṅ wadwa, paḍa lulut. Masuta[32] kalih, paḍa kakuṅ, ṅaran saṅ Maya, saṅ Ketu. Saṅ Maya tan ahyun iṅ kawīryan, maguru riṅ bhagawān Sumitra, liniṅgan bhagawān Keśawa. Saṅ Ketu marabi ātmaja nira maraja[33] Bhīmabala, maṅaran Smarawanā; maputra kakalih, jalu saṅ atuha, ṅaran saṅ Candrasiṅha, saṅ anom istri, ṅaran saṅ Prajādharī[34]. Saṅ Chandrasiṅha mapriyā ātmaja nira maraja Satradharma[35], ṅaran dewī Rewatī. Dewī Prajādharī inalap de saṅ Candranātha, suta nira maraja Rukmaratha, suta nira saṅ Somadatta[36].

Dewī Rewatī tan papuputra, maṅka mohita de[37] niṅ manah piyambĕk[38]. Liṅ saṅ nātha: "Yayi, punapa[39] karan ira mohita? Manawi de niṅ kawula, manawi de ni pun kaka?" Liṅ saṅ dewī: "Kaka aji, punapi doṣa ni pun yen bĕndwa riṅ kawula, i Pāduka Bhaṭāra mapan boya, kewala de niṅ sraya piyambĕk." Liṅ saṅ prabhu[40]: "De niṅ punapi ta, yayi?" Liṅ saṅ dewī: "De niṅ manira tan pasusuta[41]. Yen luṅsur Pāduka Bhaṭāra lawan pun[42] yayi, sapa sira gumantyanana pura puniki[43]?" Maṅkwa amicāreṅ[44] buddhi saṅ nātha; maṅkwa ta ahyun[45] aṅhyaṅ[46] yen anaktya[47], aneḍaha[48] 79a putra riṅ hyaṅ kaṅ rumakṣeṅ[49] kuṭa: "Yen tan pantuka, saĕṅgenĕṅgenan manira pĕjaha[50], sukha manira." Liṅ saṅ Rewatī[51]: "Yen maṅkana, pun yayi saparan Pāduka Bhaṭāra, paḍĕma huripa." Liṅ saṅ nātha: "Sakarsa nira yayi." Maṅkwa kulĕm luṅha saṅ prabhu maṅilib pamrĕm iṅ wwaṅ iṅ purī Prāpteṅ kānanāgĕṅ ; ananakti, tan pantuk. Maṅkwa amicāra riṅ buddhi, mara eṅ[52] Pantarabhūmi, palaga.

Two were left, their names were Wīrabāhu and Sranama[4]. Sranama was afraid of Pāṇḍawa, he took refuge on mount Wanawatī and became a pupil of the reverend Atri under the name of Sumitra. Wīrabāhu hid himself in a hermitage in the woods ; that was the end of the Korawas.

Pāṇḍawa ruled as king of Hastina and was kind and liberal towards his subjects, so that they all were devoted to him. He had two children, both boys, whose names were Maya and Ketu. Maya did not aspire to a life as a king, he became a pupil of the reverend Sumitra, under the religious name of the reverend Keśawa. Ketu married the daughter of king Bhīmabala, called Smarawanā ; he had two children, the elder one a boy named Candrasiṅha, the younger one a girl named Prajādharī. Candrasiṅha wedded a daughter of king Satradharma, called princess Rewatī. Princess Prajādharī was taken to wife by Candranātha, a son of king Rukmaratha, a son of Somadatta[5].

79a Queen Rewatī did not have any children, so she became sad in her heart. The king asked her : "My dear, why are you sad ? Did the servants give you cause for it, or was it I ?" The queen answered : "My lord and king, what is the servants' fault that I should be angry with them ! And of course I am not angry with Your Majesty ; it is only on account of a want I feel myself that I am sad." The king asked : "But why do you feel a want, my dear ?" And the queen answered : "Because I do not get any children. When your majesty and I have passed away, who will succeed to the throne ?" Now the king considered in his heart, and then he decided to keep a religious observance and pray for a son to the god who guarded the city : "If I do not get a child, then, no doubt, I shall willingly seek death." Rewatī said : "If that is the case, I shall follow Your Majesty, wherever Your Majesty goes, albeit into death." And the king answered : "As it pleases you, my dear." Now in the night the king went forth, stealthily, while the people of the court were asleep. They came to a large forest ; there they prayed, but obtained no result. Then they considered in their hearts, they went to Pantarabhūmi, the place niṅ Korawa lawan Pāṇḍawa ; śīghra prāpterika. Ginilagila de niṅ banaspati, bhūta, dĕṅĕn, curumani ; mūrcchita dewī Rewatī riṅ kisyapwan saṅ kaka ; tan lĕga manah saṅ prabhu. Bawis tumurun bhaṭāra Caturmukha, liṅ ira : "Paran ta denta palaku, saṅkanta mara ṅke, tan takut iṅ banaspati, curumani, ? Paran ta denta pinta ? Mapan kita wibhuh iṅ artha, kanaka, ratna". Liṅ saṅ nātha : "Pukulun, tan panĕḍa punapipunapi, kewala anĕḍa puputra, yen jalu, kaṅ rumakṣaheṅ pura, yen wadon, dadya paṅisi[53] niṅ purı." Liṅ saṅ hyaṅ Prajāpati : "Iya, katĕkan karsanta iku. Yen kakuṅ, aranana Daśabāhu[54], yen istri, aranana[55] Puṣpawatī." Sawega maṅabhiwāda saṅ nātha, samby[56] anĕḍa amisiṅgih ; mur saṅ hyaṅ Dhātṛ. Mantuk saṅ prabhu iṅĕmban saṅ patnī ; śighra prāpteṅ purī ; karipan aguliṅ akarwan ulĕs.

Tan hopĕn iṅ lawasnya ; maṅgarbhiṇī[57] saṅ dewī, bawis maputra jalu[58], mabhuja sadaśa, mawarṇa danuja. Lumihat iṅ putra, saṅ Rewatī malayu ; geger sapurī ; gadgada saṅ prabhu, lumihat iṅ putra ; ahewa monĕk iṅ[59] saṅ hyaṅ Dhatṛ de niṅ tan tuhu. Ya ta makon[60] aṅundaṅa sira patih, kinen aṅhañuta riṅ putra[61] salah rūpa. Pintu kinuñci ; kawula tan sinuṅ[62] umuṅ. Śighra pinuṇḍut pāka punika, mukṣah iṅalap[63] de saṅ hyaṅ Dhātṛ. Liṇḍu, hudan kṣaṇika ; śīghra tinĕḍunaken de saṅ hyaṅ Prajāpati[64] tekaṅ waraṇa, awayah, rumājaputra, pragiwaka, sulakṣaṇa, śakti kadi saṅ hyaṅ Prajāpati ; tĕkāṅabhiwāda ri saṅ Candrasiṅha. Kagyat saṅ nātha de niṅ ātmaja aguṅ tan iṅ ulah ; mojar yen sakiṅ saṅ hyaṅ Dhātṛ ṅaran Daśabāhu. Ḍĕṅĕr[65] saṅ apatih Jayawirota ; sinamohakĕn[66] in mantri kabeh yen kinon amor iṅ ratu taruṇa, biniseka[67] saṅ Daśabāhu. Maṅka maṅulah sāma dāna, tan apilih jana, kinalulutan [68] iṅ bala, where the Korawas and Pāṇḍawas fought their battle ; soon they arrived there. They were frightened by tree-spirits, bhūtaṣ, dĕṅĕns and curumanis ; queen Rewatī fainted in the lap of her husband, but the king did not give way. Then god Caturmukha descended and asked : "What is your request, that you came here, not afraid of tree-spirits and curumanis ? What is your asking ? For you are rich in goods, gold and jewels." The king answered : "My lord, I do not ask anything, I only ask to have a child, if it be a boy, to guard the city, if it be a girl, to be heiress to the throne." Prajāpati said : "Well, your wish is granted. If the child be a boy, name him Daśabāhu ; if it be a girl, name her Puṣpawati." Quickly the king thanked the god and accepted his words obediently ; god Dhātṛ disappeared. The king went home, accompanied by his consort ; soon they arrived in the palace ; as they were sleepy, they lay down together.

In short, the queen became pregnant and afterwards gave birth to a son, who had ten arms and looked like a danuja. When Rewatī saw her son, she fled ; all the palace was appalled ; the king stammered, when he saw his son, he felt aversion and his trust in god Dhātṛ was shaken, as the god seemed not to remain true to his word. So he had the prime minister summoned and ordered him to do away with this misshapen son. The door was closed and the servants were not allowed to tell anything. But suddenly the babe was lifted up and disappeared as it was taken by god Dhātṛ. The earth trembled and rain fell and immediately afterwards the child was brought down by god Prajāpati, full-grown, of princely bearing, intelligent, faultless, powerful like god Prajāpati[6] ; and, lo, he saluted Candrasiṅha. The king was amazed that his son was so extraordinarily big ; he related that god Dhātṛ had destined this son to bear the name of Daśabāhu. The prime minister Jayawirota heard this ; he summoned all the ministers and told them that they should wait upon the prince royal as he was consecrated under the name of Daśabāhu. And the prince was kind and liberal, without preference for anybody, the object of the devotion of his men.

Tucapa[69] saṅ prabhu masuta malih, istri antyanta hajĕṅ ira, kadi saṅ Rājalakṣmī, pamulu kadi candra pūrṇa, iṅaran saṅ Puṣpawatī ; iña nira ṅaran Jayasurāga[70], wĕka niṅ kasiman, cakṣu iṅ paramakawi.

79b. Tucapa hana ratu titiga[71], sanak, ātmaja nira maraja Brajakala, saṅ atuha maraja Koṣa, prabhu riṅ Magadha, arinya ṅaran maraja Siwanda, nātha riṅ Srawaṅga, wuruju ṅaran Suśrawa, nātha riṅ Kaliṅga. Maṅkwa maraja Koṣa mahyun arabi, malih pajĕṅ lawan putrī [71a] nira saṅ nātheṅ Mālawa ṅaran maraja Sindhurāja ; putrī ṅaran saṅ Priyawatī ; samāpta pajĕṅ, tĕbĕṅ iṅ kārya. Maṅreṅö saṅ Daśabāhu, amiweka lawan bhṛtya, mantri kabeh, liṅ ira : "Aṅruṅu kita niṣṭha, madhya, uttameṅ apriyā." Hatur ira patih Jayawirota : "Siṅgih, niṣṭha wwaṅ pinarabekĕn [72] de niṅ patnī, madhya wwaṅ pinakramakĕn[73] de niṅ yayah, reṇa, uttama wwaṅ arabi anuku riṅ praṅ, atoh[74] jīwa, atawīṅ curik[75], līlāwīrya, santaki[76] ; wiśobhitapriya[77] ṅaran iṅ ratu daridra amaṅgih wīrya niṅ priyā." Sampun magunita lawan sira patih[78], ahyun maṅkat saṅ Daśabāhu, tinaṅguhan mārdawa. Śīghra mamwit iṅ saṅ prabhu : "Pukulun, pun anak ahyun ḍatĕṅeṅ[79] Mālawa, ahyun aṅambila putrī nira saṅ nātheṅ Mālawa." Liṅ ira saṅ Candrasiṅha : "Kaki Daśabāhu, sampun ! Yen sira harĕp arabyāmilihana[81] anak iṅ ratu." Liṅ saṅ Daśabāhu : "Asuṅa, mboyaa[82], pun anak maṅkat." Śīghra luṅha maṅkat saṅ Daśabāhu muṅgw iṅ ratha, saha balakrama ; sira patih Jayawirota haneṅ hasti. Tan makaḍat prāpteṅ Mālawa. Sira patih amoṇḍok iṅ alunalun, apajĕg[83] waṅuntur, pasĕk agĕṅ sĕsĕk de niṅ wadwa Kāśīpati. Saṅ Daśabāhu mareṅ purī[84].

Let us now relate how the king again had a child, a girl of exceeding beauty, like Rājalakṣmī ; her complexion was like the full moon. She was given the name of Puṣpawatī[7], and she had a nurse called Jayasurāga, a daughter of a kasiman[8], the very best of excellent poets.

79b. Then let us tell of three kings, who were brothers, sons of king Brajakala; the eldest was king Koṣa, ruler of Magadha, his younger brother was called king Siwanda, ruler of Srawaṅga[9], the youngest was called Suśrawa, king of Kaliṅga. Now king Koṣa wished to marry and was already betrothed to the daughter of the king of Mālawa, whose name was king Sindhurāja ; the princess was called Priyawatī ; the betrothal was already contracted and the day of the marriage appointed[10]. Daśabāhu heard this, he deliberated with all the courtiers and ministers and said : "We have heard that there is a basest, a mediocre and an excellent category of the men who marry." The prime minister answered : "Yes, the basest man is made to marry by his wife, the mediocre man is wedded by his father and mother, but excellent is the man that marries through his conquest in war—thus staking his life—even with the dagger alone, a hero at play... ; lover of beauty (?) is the name of the wise[10a] king that marries the excellence of his bride (?)." No need of further deliberation with the prime minister! Daśabāhu wanted to go, though he was dissuaded from it courteously. Immediately he took leave of the king: "My lord, your son wishes to go to Mālawa, he wishes to take the daughter of the king of Mālawa." Candrasiṅha said: "My dear Daśabāhu, do not do so! If you want to marry, let me choose a daughter of a king for you." But Daśabāhu answered: "Whether you allow me or not, your son goes." Quickly Daśabāhu departed—standing in his chariot—together with his troops; the prime minister Jayawirota rode on the back of an elephant. Without delay they reached Mālawa. The prime minister camped in the outer courtyard, rows of soldiers sat in the main courtyard, the hosts of the men of Kāśī's lord were large and densely crowded. Daśabāhu went inside the appartments saṅ rājaputrī, kapaṅgih iṅahesan. Bawis pinuṇḍut mareṅ pawaraṅan, pinriyambada de saṅ Dhātṛātmaja. Geger iṅ dalĕm, paḍa malayu, matur iṅ saṅ prabhu yen putrī nira winalat de saṅ Kāśīpura. Kepwan saṅ prabhu, magunĕm lawan yodha, mantri de niṅ ratu taruṇa saṅ Koṣa arabi, aṅhur saṅ nātheṅ Kāśīpati ratu taruṇa. Jīrṇa manah saṅ prabhu. Śīghra ḍataṅ[85] utusan ira saṅ Koṣa anrĕgaken[86] i [87] saṅ nātha: "Ḍataṅ[85] mantu Pāduka Bhaṭāra. Punĕndi gen[88] iṅ pipinaṅan ranak Pāduka Bhaṭāra?" Liṅ saṅ prabhu riṅ utusan: "Anu, matur iṅ kaki prabhu yen saṅ rājaputrī denpurugul dene[89] saṅ nātheṅ Kāśīpati. Maṅke haneṅ purī akalihan." Śīghra malajĕṅ punaṅ utusan, prāpta riṅ saṅ Koṣa, matur: "Pukulun, punapi[90] karsa niṅ tuhan? Saṅ rājakanyā depunwalat[91] dene saṅ Kāśīrājaputra; ṅaran saṅ Daśabāhu. Maṅke haneṅ dalĕm. Iṅandĕgaken tekaṅ babaktan." Sawega marĕk iṅ[92] maratuwa[93] maraja Koṣa maṅabhiwāda riṅ maratuwa[94]: "Punapi[95] karan iṅ[96] wande?" Liṅ saṅ Mālawarāja: "Kaki prabhu, kami tan wruh pinaṅkanipun saṅ nātheṅ Kāśīpati mara ṅke. Maṅkin[97] haneṅ dalĕm pawaraṅan." Liṅ saṅ Koṣa: "Sapa kaṅ aweh mārga?" Liṅ saṅ Mālawapati: "Tan wikan mārganipun." Bawis mamwit[98] saṅ Magadharāja, prāpteṅ[99] heṅ niṅ purī[100], sinuṅsuṅ de[101] saṅ Srawaṅgarāja, saṅ Kaliṅgapati, mwaṅ pipinaṅan pituwĕlas, ṅaran maraja Cārudeṣṇa, Bajrānala, Nīlabāhu, Wikarṇa, Sulamaṅru, Śūlabajra[102] Wīroddhata, Siṅhawadana, Braja, Wiroṣa, Sutīkṣṇa, Pragupta, Prawasta, Naladeka[103], Supadira, Praduharsa[104], Nisati. Paḍa rabdha manah ira saha bala, paḍa yatna, sampun kajĕṅan[105] yen rumusakeṅ kuṭa Mālawa. Kinuliliṅan, sampun akrama pĕnuh[106], mṛdaṅga kaya guntur gumuruh awurahan. Kewran saṅ nātheṅ Mālawa; pinarĕk iṅ para mantri. Karsa nira saṅ prabhu maṅundaṅa ri[107] saṅ Daśabāhu.

80a. of the princess and found her as she was being attired. Immediately Dhātṛ's son[6] lifted her up and took her to the bridal room, where he won her over with sweet words. The people in the palace were alarmed, they all fled and informed the king that his daughter was conquered by Kāśīpura. The king was embarrassed, he deliberated with his officers and ministers that the prince royal Koṣa was the lawful bridegroom, but that the king of Kāśī was rather preferable as prince royal. The king's heart was cheered. Soon afterwards came an envoy of Koṣa to urge the king: "Your Majesty's son-in-law has come. Which place is reserved for the allies of Your Majesty's son?" The king answered the envoy: "Well, tell the king that the princess has been taken by the king of Kāśī. Now they are together in the palace." Immediately the envoy hastened back; he came to Koṣa and said: "My lord, I am at your service. The princess has been taken forcibly by the son of the king of Kāśī, called Daśabāhu. Now they are in the palace. And the marriage portion is withheld from us. Quickly king Koṣa waited upon his father-in-law, he saluted his father-in-law and asked: "What is the reason that our contract is made void?" The king of Mālawa answered: "My dear king, we do not know what caused the king of Kāśī to come here. Now he is in the bridal room." Koṣa asked: "Who gave him entrance?" The lord of Mālawa answered: "I do not know by what way he entered." Immediately the king of Magadha took leave. He went outside the palace and was met by the king of Srawaṅga, the lord of Kaliṅga and seventeen allies called king Cārudeṣṇa, Bajrānala, Nīlabāhu, Wikarṇa, Sulamaṅru, Śūlabajra, Wīroddhata, Siṅhawadana, Braja, Wiroṣa, Sutīkṣṇa, Pragupta, Prawasta, Naladeka, Supadira, Prabhuharṣa and Nisati. All were disposed to fight, together with their troops. Everyone was eagerly engaged and soon it was agreed upon to lay waste the city of Mālawa. The city was encircled, the ranks were closed densely, the drums roared loudly, like thunder. The king of Mālawa felt uneasy. He took counsel with the ministers and it was his wish to ask Daśabāhu.

80b. Tuṣṭāmbĕk iṅ para sawita, śīghra marĕk ri saṅ Daśabāhu, liṅ nira: "Kaki prabhu, punapi[108] karsa nira? Maraja Koṣa ahyun aṅrĕwĕk[109] kuṭa saha warga, bala pipinaṅanipun, paḍāṅayĕni, amrih pĕjaha nira." Sumahur saṅ Dhātrātmaja: "Pukulun, sampun walaṅ hati Pāduka Bhaṭāra. Woṅ Mālawa sampun wontĕn tumut, paḍa rumakṣaheṅ pura." Śīghra mijil saha bala muṅgw iṅ ratha saṅ Dhātṛputra; saṅ apatih Jayawirota saha bhṛtya, wāhana sawega mawantah, kadi gubar mapagut, kady alun pinapag riṅ anila. Śawa atumpuk kadi bukit. Maraja Koṣa, Siwanda, saṅ Kaliṅgapati amapag laga saṅ Dhātrātmaja; kasoran, kapusus[110] rĕbah saha bala. Tumuluy mapulih susuruhan pituwĕlas; maraja Cārudeṣṇa pĕjah. Mapulih saṅ Bajrānala, Nīlabāhu; pĕjah tan paṅuḍili.[111] Mapulih maraja Wikarṇa, Sulamaṅru;[112] mati saha turaṅga,[113] bala. Apulih maraja Śūlabajra, Wīroddhata, Siṅhawadana, Braja, Wiroṣa, Sutīkṣṇa; paḍa pĕjah de saṅ Dhātṛputra. Mapulih saṅ Pragupta,[114] Prawasta, Naladeka;[108] pinapag de saṅ mapatih pĕjah tan paṅuḍili. Apulih saṅ Supadira, Praduharsa,[115] Nisati; kinĕmbalan[116] sira patih kadi potaghṛṣṭi, putuṅ panahnya de saṅ praduharsa, pinarĕpĕkan de saṅ Supadira, saṅ Nisati, paḍa mawa daṇḍa, pinupuh[117] de saṅ Jayawirota, pĕjah ginambaṅ katiga de saṅ mapatih. Śeṣanya malayu tinut tĕkeṅ kuṭanya. Tuwin[118] maraja Koṣa, Srawaṅga, Kaliṅgarāja paḍa malajĕṅ atiṅgal kuṭa, maṅuṅsi riṅ Ratnakaṇḍa, sumawita riṅ maraja Puruṣāda. Mundur maraja Daśabāhu, anawan wadwa saṅ Koṣa, Siwanda, Suśrawa len wadwa niṅ ratu pipinaṅan. Sarat wadwa saṅ Kāśīpati, antukantuk ira ratna, kanaka, wastrādi len artha[119] nara jalu istri, sinrahaken riṅ[120] saṅ nātheṅ Mālawa, tan pahyun. Maṅkwa saṅ Daśabāhu anuli amwit riṅ saṅ nātheṅ

80b. The minds of the courtiers were comforted, quickly they went to Daśabāhu and the king said : "My dear king, what is your plan ? King Koṣa wants to conquer the city together with all forces of his allies. They have encircled the city, and their aim is your death." Dhātṛ's son answered : "My lord, Your Majesty need not be alarmed. Do not let the men of Mālawa march out with me, let them guard the city." Quickly Dhātṛ's son, standing in his chariot, sallied forth together with his troops ; the prime minister Jayawirota, together with his men and elephants, attacked violently, like a clashing cymbal, like a surge lashed by the wind. Dead bodies made piles like mountains. King Koṣa, Siwanda and the lord of Kaliṅga went to meet Dhātṛ's son in combat ; they were defeated and fell crashing down, together with their soldiers. Immediately the seventeen allies stepped into the breach ; King Cārudeṣṇa was killed. Bajrānala and Nīlabāhu came forward ; they were killed before they could strike. Wikarṇa and Sulamaṅru came forward ; they died with horses and soldiers. Śūlabajra, Wīroddhata, Siṅhawadana, Braja, Wiroṣa and Sutīkṣṇa came forward ; all were killed by Dhātṛ's son. Pragupta, Prawasta and Naladeka came forward ; the prime minister came to meet them and they died before they could strike. Supadita, Prabhuharṣa and Nisati came forward ; together they attacked the prime minister as if he were a young swine, his arrows were broken by Prabhuharṣa and he was pressed hard by Supadira and Nisati, both carrying clubs, but Jayawirota struck them with his mace and they died all three as their skulls were broken[11] by the prime minister. The others fled and were pursued even into their cities. King Koṣa, Srawaṅga, and the king of Kaliṅga also fled, abandoning their cities, they took refuge in Ratnakaṇḍa[12] and became Puruṣāda's vassals. King Daśabāhu retreated carrying with him the soldiers of Koṣa, Siwanda and Suśrawa and the soldiers of the allied kings as prisoners. The soldiers of Kāśī's lord were heavily loaded, jewels, gold, clothes and the like, and male and female slaves were their loot ; it was offered to the king of Mālawa, who did not accept it. Now Daśabāhu soon took leave of the king of Mālawa. Mantuk sagraha[121] lawan[122] saṅ rājaputrī ; tuṣṭa saṅ Mālawapati. Tan makaḍat prāpteṅ pura Kāśīpati. Antyanta wwaṅ aniniṅali,[123] paḍa kamānuṣan, kasrĕpan kabeh. Tuṣṭa saṅ Candrasiṅha mwaṅ dewī Rewatī, kalintaṅ[124] garjita nira de nira amantu tan paśaraṇa, utawi de nin anak anwam prawīra, hatur[125] tawan jarahan wastra, kalpa,[125a] ratna, artha wwaṅ akaṭah.

81a. Alamilami hana anak iṅ paṇḍita ṅaran bhagawān Wisradika, ṅaran deur

Wisastri ; pinaran, pinalampah de saṅ Dhātṛputra, sinuṅ ; tuṣṭa saṅ prabhu marabi kalih. Alami aṅrěṅö hana butrawa asuta istri hajěṅ, ṅaran saṅ Sudasmini ; ṅaraṇ iṅ yayah ḍaṅ hyaṅ Musina ;[126] ya ta pinaran de saṅ Dhātrātmaja, anak inaluk, asuṅ saṅ wipra, iṅalap de saṅ prabhu mapapasihan, tigaṅ dina bhinakta, mantuk mareṅ pura ; tuṣṭa saṅ priyā kalih. Maṅka gěněp titiga gara saṅ Daśabāhu. Alawas makurěn, paḍa maputra katiga, sawiji sowaṅ, sami kakuṅ : dewī Priyawatī[127] sutanya ṅaran saṅ Śāla, kadi saṅ Daśabāhu rūpanya ; saṅ Wisastri masuta mětu saṅ Dakṣa ; saṅ Sudasmini maputra mětu saṅ Sucitra.

Tucapa maraja Puruṣāda. Tuṣṭāmběk ira abala ratu titiga. Aṅrusuki[128] deśa riṅ Kāśīpati, riṅ Hastina. Kepwan saṅ prabhu mwaṅ para pañcaka, mayagasamādhi[129] maṅasihasih iṅ Hyaṅ. Maṅka saṅ hyaṅ Sadabija mañjanma riṅ dewī Parjādharī, magarbhiṇi. Maṅka mijil ; pituṅ dina hudan mas pisis : warṇa kadi chandra pūrṇama. Maṅkwa sakweh iṅ karogasraya[130] paḍa ruwat : tapas dadi ahirěṅ ;[131] wujil dadi magěṅ ; cabol ; srěyuk[132] dadi apajěg ; wuṅkuk, paṇḍeṅ[133] kāya palikaṅ[134] dadi aběněr ; copet, pesos,[135] guwěṅ[136] dadi samasta ;

81a. Mālawa ; he went home, with the princess he had married to the contentment of the lord of Mālawa. Without delay he arrived in the city of Kāśī. Extremely numerous were the lookers-on and all were astonished and charmed. Candrasiṅha and queen Rewatī were happy and they rejoiced exceedingly that they had got a daughter-in-law without having to ask a favour from anybody, and that their young son had proved a hero, who offered them a booty consisting of great quantities of clothes, gold (?), jewels and slaves.

81a. Some time afterwards there was a daughter of the learned priest, the reverend Wisradika, called lady Wisastri ; Dhātṛ's son went to her, asked for her and she was given him ; the king was happy to have two wives. Some time afterwards he heard that there was a brahman who had a beautiful daughter called Sudasmini. The name of her father was the reverend Musina ; Dhātṛ's son went to him, asked for his daughter and the brahman gave her. The king took her to wife and was entertained as a guest for three days. Then he returned to his city ; the two wives were contented. Now Daśabāhu had got his three wives. When he had been married for some time, each of the three wives had a child, all boys : the son of queen Priyawatī was named Śāla—like Daśabāhu was his stature ; Wisastri gave birth to Dakṣa ; Sudasmini gave birth to Sucitra.[13]

Let us now tell of king Puruṣāda. He was happy to have the three kings as vassals. He laid waste the countries of Kāśī and Hastina. The kings and the religious men were distressed ; they practised yoga and samādhi, praying to God. Now the lord Sadabija[14] descended into the womb of queen Prajādharī, who became pregnant. In due time He was born ; for seven days it rained golden coins ; His complexion was like the full moon. And all diseases and defects were healed : those who had a light-spotted skin turned dark ; the dwarfs became big those who were short and broad and...acquired an ordinary stature ; the hunchbacks, those who had the appearance of an eunuch, and...became hale ; those whose lips were too short or too long, or had a hare-lip, got sound lips ;

date kera, wuta, wilalan, picĕk, kedĕr[137] pelereṅ [138] dadi awas mulat ; bule, lampaṅ, blaṅ dadi pūrṇacarma ; tuli dĕṅkĕk dadi aṅruṅu ; lumuk dadi bisa aṅucap ; wuḍug, ayan, buyan paḍa pūrṇa. Wijil[138a] iṅ putra saṅ prabhu pitu[139] candra tan pĕgat wwaṅ asuṅ dadah[140] ; gĕnĕp tĕmu baňu iṅaran saṅ Sutasoma. Agĕṅ, rumājaputra, tan pahyun akrama winidhi, kinen arabi, tan pahyun. Aguru riṅ saṅ Wagiswaragnyanasrawa, tuṅgal sapaguron lawan saṅ yayah. Miṅgat iṅ wĕṅi mareṅ prawata, kinĕmit iṅ bala lanaṅ wadon saṅ prabhu. Kapati lanaṅ wadoṅ ; ḍataṅ purohita nira : "Kaki prabhu, aja katuṅkul, duk, tĕka, ĕndi saṅkane ? Luṅha, ĕndi parane ? Tĕkane, aja sukha ; luṅhane, aja duhkha." Eṅĕt saṅ prabhu, nĕhĕr[141] mārdawa wuwus saṅ dwiman.

81b. Tucapa lampah saṅ Sutasoma. Amaṅgih deśa, tan mandĕg.[142] Liwat iṅ pĕkĕn, lumastari. Amārga riṅ paṅaṅswan ; anuli riṅ kubwankubwan ; liwat iṅ paṅabĕtan ;[143] kidulnya[144] sĕma śawanyākweh. Araryan riṅ[145] ḍaṅka nira Bhaṭārī ; binaňcana de saṅ Ghorī, tan kĕna. Lumaris mawukiran, kacuṇḍuk bhagawān Keśawa, sinuguhan phala cacah, ḍimpa, uwi. Aṅinĕp sakulĕm,[146] eňjiṅ lumaris mareṅ bukit Paňcawatī, marĕk iṅ bhagawān Sumitra, dinulur de saṅ ṛṣi Keśawa, sinayutan, tan kĕna de saṅ kaki. Tumuli [147] bhaṭārī Pṛthiwī mapitutur, tan pantuk.[148] Śīghrāmwit i saṅ Sumitra, lumaris mareṅ Girirāja, dinulur de saṅ Keśawa. Prāpteṅ tīrthāmṛta,

those who were blind of one or both eyes, were afflicted with a winking of the eyes, had only one eye, had a cast in the eye or......now could see well ; the albinos and those who had white spots on hands and feet or scald-head got a healthy skin : those who were dull of hearing or deaf now could hear well ; the dumb could speak ; the lepers, the epileptics and the idiots all became hale[15]. After the king's son was born, servants for seven months at a stretch softly rubbed his limbs and, when the time was come for the first ritual ablution[16], he was named Sutasoma. When he had grown to be a young man he did not wish to wed ; even when he was told to marry, he would not do so. He became a pupil of Wagiswaragnyanasrawa, thus having the same teacher as his father. In the night he silently went away to the mountains, though he was watched over by the king's male and female body-guards. Men and women fainted with grief ; the king's chaplain came and said : "My dear king, do not be downcast. For things come, and from where do they come ? Things go, and whither do they go ? When they come, do not rejoice ; when they go, do not grieve." The king recovered himself and then the priest spoke kind words to him.

81b. Let us now tell about Sutasoma as he went his way. He reached the countryside, but did not stop. He passed a market-place, but continued. He came past a bathing-place and, after that, to plantations ; he went past a hamlet ; to the south there was a cremation-place with many dead bodies. He stayed in a temple of Bhaṭārī and was put to the test by Ghorī, who found no flaw in him. He went on towards the mountains and met with the reverend Keśawa who offered him chopped fruit, ḍimpa and uwi.[17] There he stayed for one night and the next morning went on to mount Pañcawatī, where he, together with the seer Keśawa[18], paid a visit to the reverend Sumitra. His great-uncle[19] tried to make him desist from his plans, but did not succeed. Immediately after that the goddess Pṛthiwī admonished him, but without result. Soon he took leave of Sumitra and went on to the King of mountains, accompanied by Keśawa. He came to a holy well and there he

82a. asūryasewana. Tinaṅguhan de saṅ ṛṣi, tan sinaṅśaya. Bawis mĕntas, lumaris, kacuṇḍuk taṅ kĕpuh agĕṅ. Sumawa saṅ ṛṣi, tan sinaṅśaya. Kapaṅgih saṅ Gajawaktra amāṅsa janma. Ya ta pinituturan de saṅ Jinamūrti, tan pahiḍĕp. Binĕḍag[149] saṅ nṛpātmaja. Mijil apuy sakeṅ kumbhanya, nāsikā lwir nāgarāja ; maṅawil buṅkah in wiyat, gambhīrāṅuluwuṅ ; katon natar i saṅ nāgendra. Binalaṅakĕn riṅ[150] saṅ Sutasoma, rĕmuk taṅ prawata ri harĕp saṅ nṛpaputra. Śighra pinanah riṅ śara bhidura, tĕrus pyah saṅ Gajawaktra ; tiba maṅohan[151] saṅ Nekapawaktra. Luṅha saṅ Gaṇamūrti, dinulurakĕn de saṅ watĕk dewatā. Kari saṅ Waraṇawaktra, aminta jīwāsaṅgup anut sawuwus nira. Ya ta dinahut śara sakeṅ Dipakwadana. Maṅkwātutur saṅ Wāraṅawaktra, manĕmbah ri [152] saṅ nṛpātmaja, Sampun pinituturan, mārdawa saṅ Dipakwadana.

Śīghra lumaris lampah[153] saṅ Sutasoma lawan saṅ ṛṣi, tumut saṅ Wāraṇawaktra. Kañcit hana bhujaga riṅ giha, ṅaran saṅ Pāśarāja, sahasa harĕp anahuta[154] ri saṅ nṛpaputra. Wruh saṅ Samberawaktra, sawegāmalaṅ ri harĕp saṅ nṛpātmaja. Maṅkwa mapluk saṅ uragapati lawan saṅ Wāraṇakuñca. Pinulĕd saṅ Sāmajawaktra, kadi giri Mandaropamārubuh, mĕtu prabhāwanyagni sakeṅ kumbha n umurub. Kaprabhāwan saṅ uraganātha, ahyun paratra. Sīghra iṅuhuh de saṅ nṛpātmaja : "Ih, ayo !" Sinirĕp jwala niṅ dipak. Ya ta matutur saṅ Pāśarāja, ahyun anĕmbah ri[155] saṅ Dwiradamukha, tinulak de saṅ sāmaja, liṅ ira : "Dudu kami kaṅ aṅhuripi sira. Ika si sĕmbahĕn,[156] guru niṅ hulun, kṣatri yānom, kaṅ ḍinerek iṅ wiku." Maṅka bhakti riṅ[157] saṅ Jinakula,

worshipped the sun. The seer warned[20] him, but he did not heed his words. Immediately he came out of the water and continued his way. He came to the great wild kapok-tree[21] ; the seer was afraid, but Sutasoma paid no heed. He met with Gajawaktra[22], who ate men. The Jina incarnate admonished him, but he did not mind his words. He bore down upon the prince. Fire came forth from his frontal globes, his trunk was like the king of snakes ; he shook the foundations of the atmosphere, there was a loud noise and the courtyard of the king of snakes became visible. Mountains were thrown at Sutasoma, but they were annihilated

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before the prince. Quickly Sutasoma let off a thunderbolt-arrow[23] at Gajawaktra ; it pierced his side. Nekapawaktra fell moaning to earth. Gaṇa withdrew [and went back to heaven], accompanied by the gods. Wāraṇawaktra remained,[24] he begged Sutasoma to spare his life and promised to obey every word of his. So the arrow was taken out of Dipakwadana. Now Wāraṇawaktra's mind was cleared and he bowed before the prince. Soon he was instructed and Dipakwadana became a gentle person.

82a. Sutasoma quickly continued his journey together with the seer ; Wāraṇawaktra followed them. At a certain point on their way there was a snake living in a cavern, whose name was Pāśarāja ;[25] he suddenly tried to bite the prince. Samberawaktra was aware of it and quickly put himself in the way before the prince. Now the lord of sankes wrestled with Wāraṇakuñca. He found himself about Sāmajawaktra, who crashed down like mount Mandara, but a mighty fire issued flaming from his frontal globes. The king of snakes was overpowered and near to death. Quickly the prince shouted to Gajawaktra : "Hey, stop !" and the blaze of the elephant was extinguished. So Pāśarāja's insight was cleared ; he wanted to bow before Dwiradamukha, but the elephant held him back, saying : "It is not I who saved your life. That is the man who should be bowed to, my master, the young kṣatriya, who is accompanied by bhikṣus." Now the snake paid homage to Jina's son, he was pinituturan, mārdawa manahnya.

82b. Śighra lumaris lumpah saṅ nṛpasuta. Amaṅgih parwata apiṇḍa danuja, atutuk guhālwa, amata śilāputih, kady abhūṣaṇa limut ampakampak,[158] aswara guruh pracaṇḍa. Arēs saṅ pañcaka andulu, tan sinaṅśaya[159] de saṅ nṛpaputra. Ya ta hana wyāghra tan polih[160] māṅsa, alapa, ahyun amaṅan iṅ wĕkanya, manaṅis akĕḍalkĕḍal. Ya ta pinaran de saṅ Sutasoma. Nĕhĕr paḍātaṅguh saṅ wiku aṅiriṅ, tan rinĕṅö de saṅ nṛpātmaja, liṅ ira : "E, saṅ moṅ, aja dera naṅan anak ira iku amĕlasakĕn. Uwakĕna ! Iṅsun paṅanĕn ! Sunu nira didine ahurip iṅsun[161] matya." Ya ta inuwakakĕn leponya, malayu mareṅ deśa śūnya. Maṅkwa saṅ wyāghra araṅgeyan ; liṅ saṅ Sutasoma : "Saṅ suwanit, aja saṅśaya, paṅanĕn kami. "Ya ta rinaṅsaṅ saṅ nṛpaputra ḍaḍanya, mumbul rahnya, sinĕsĕp[162] rudhiranya. Tĕlas pĕjah saṅ Jinakula, mĕnĕṅ saṅ suwanit, tan kawasa amaṅana de niṅ sampun sĕwĕh de niṅ swanita. Maṅka paḍa[163] manaṅis para wiman ; mwaṅ saṅ dipak, saṅ nahipada,[164] paḍākusah anaṅisi pāda saṅ Sutasoma. Liṅ saṅ suwanit : "E, saṅ Sāmajawaktra, saṅ nāgapati, jana, paran dera taṅisi iku ?" Liṅ saṅ wiku : "E, saṅ moṅ, kusuma dibya iku. Dene saṅ Wāraṇawaktra, Nāgapāśa, saṅkane iku anaṅis[165] dene iku[166] aguru." Maṅkwa anaṅis[167] saṅ wyāghra makusah,[168] aminta pinĕjahan de saṅ dipak, uraga mwaṅ saṅ ṛṣi, liṅ ira : "Pakanira pĕjahana manira." Mojar saṅ Sāmajawaktra, saṅ uraga : "E, saṅ moṅ, sugyan ta guru nisun[169] iku." Maṅkwa amalampah pinĕjahan saṅ wyāghra. Liṅ saṅ sāmaja[169a] uraga : "Orana wĕkase guru niṅ hulun maṅkana." Maṅkwa anibanba[170] anaṅis smalaku[171] pinaten : "Raden, yan[172] pakanira ahuripa, manira aguru iṅ pakanira." Maṅka[173] saṅ hyaṅ Śakra mawikalpa : "E, saṅ moṅ, tĕmĕn sira ahiḍĕp iṅ ujare[174] saṅ Sutasoma?" Tumĕṅa saṅ wyāghra, sumahur : "Siṅgih." Maṅkwa mahurip saṅ Sutosoma. Tuṣṭa saṅ ṛṣi mwaṅ saṅ bhujaga, dwirada[175] paḍāññjali, mwaṅ saṅ wyāghra śobhāṅastuti, mārdawa manahnya. Paḍāṅastuti gati nira,

instructed and his heart became gentle.

82b. Quickly the prince continued his journey. He reached a mountain that resembled a danuja. For mouth it had a large cave, for eyes white rocks, as it were for ornaments clouds and mist, for voice a violent roar. The religious men were afraid as they saw it, but the prince did not heed. Now there was a tigress who could not find meat and, as she was hungry, wanted to eat her cubs. Immediately she seized her cubs, who cried and squirmed. So Sutasoma went to her. Immediately all the bhikṣus who were with him tried to withhold him, but he did not listen to them and said : "Hey, tigress, do not eat your pitiful cubs ! Let them loose and eat me ! Let me die, that your children may live." Then she let her cubs loose and they fled into the jungle. Now the tigress reached for Sutasoma and Sutasoma said : "Tigress, do not be afraid ! Eat me !" So she clutched the prince in the breast ; the blood flowed forth and she drank it. Soon Jina's son died and the tigress stopped drinking ; she could not eat him, because she already was satiated with the blood. Now all the religious men wept, and the elephant and the snake both wept loudly over the feet of Sutasoma. The tigress asked : "Well, Sāmajawaktra, snake and you, men, why do you weep over him ?" The bhikṣu answered : "Ah, tigress, this was a flower from heaven. As for Wāraṇawaktra and Nāgapāśa, they weep because they were his pupils." Now the tigress wept loudly and asked the elephant, the snake and the seer to kill her ; she said : "You must kill me." Sāmajawaktra and the snake replied : "Ah, tigress, we rather would that our master [were still alive]." Again the tigress craved to be killed. But the elephant and the snake said : "Thus was not the instruction of our master." Yet she repeatedly threw herself to earth, wept and asked to be killed : "Prince, if you will come to life again, I shall be your pupil." Now god Śakra asked : "Well, tigress, will you really mind the words of Sutasoma ?" The tigress looked up and answered : "Indeed." Then Sutasoma was restored to life. The seer and the snake and the elephant were happy and bowed and the tigress rejoiced and praised Sutasoma ; her mind had become gentle. All praised his deed, all were instructed

paḍa pinituturan, paḍa manut sawuwus i saṅ Jinamūrti. Tuṣṭa saṅ ṛṣi de nira satya gati nira katiga. Artha jana katiga, sami bhinagawān nāma[176] de saṅ Jinakula : saṅ Gajawaktra liniṅgan saṅ Pañcakadipak, saṅ nāga liniṅgan saṅ Uragadwiman, saṅ wyāghra liniṅgan saṅ Puhunbhikṣuka. Sampun winuruk iṅ tapabrata, kinantunahĕn iṅ giri Kopa[177].

83a. Saṅ Sutasoma lastari mareṅ Mahāmeru, mwaṅ saṅ Keśawāṅiriṅ. Śīghra prāpteṅ Rājaprawata ; saṅ Keśawa mamwit, mantuk mareṅ Wanawatī mawarah riṅ bhagawān Sumitra. Tuṣṭa manah ira de nira anwam, ambĕk ahiṅsaka, matapa riṅ Rajaprawata.

Tucapa ṛṣisaṅghya mapupul, arĕs de saṅ Sudasasuta ; awrin para watĕk dewatā. Maṅkwa giṇunita saṅ Sutasoma de saṅ hyaṅ Indra : "Saṅ Sutasoma juga amĕjahana." Maṅkwa ta tibanana[178] bañcana de saṅ Śakra, widadgari, tan kawĕnaṅ, larut kaṅ bañcana. Tigaṅ dina, tigaṅ kilĕm,[179] tan kĕna. Maṅkwa saṅ hyaṅ Indra marūpa widadari, ṅaran saṅ Kendriya ; mara amañcana ; tan polih. Kerañan asĕmu kawudan, ahyun aṅrahup suku nira saṅ nṛpasuta ; mur saṅ Sutasoma, marūpa Jina. Maṅkwa bhakti saṅ hyaṅ Śakra mwaṅ dewatā, ṛṣigaṇa, catur lokapāle, nawa dewatā, apsara, apsarī, mwaṅ saṅ Rudra, paḍa bhakti. Maṅkwa amicāreṅ ambĕk saṅ nṛpātmaja : "Yayah reṇa niṅ hulun pan[180] mānuṣa ta, yen[181] wruha kaṅ densĕmbah iki dewa, pradene nora wruh kaṅ densĕmbah." Ya ta mur saṅ hyaṅ Sadabija, wāhya saṅ Sutasoma. Kagyat para walabhit, paḍa mur, meraṅ kabeh. Kari saṅ Sutasoma, mayo gadhāraka.

and all took to heart every word of the Jina incarnate. The seer was glad that the three remained true to their words. All three learned to understand the tongue of men and all of them were ordained as religious men and given holy names by Jina's son : Gajawaktra was given the religious name of Pañcakadipak, the snake was given the religious name of Uragadwiman, the tigress was given the religious name of Puhunbhikṣuka. Soon they were accomplished in the observances of asceticism and were left behind on mount Kopa.

Sutasoma continued on his way to the Mahāmeru and Keśawa went with him. Soon they reached the King of mountains ; Keśawa took leave and returned to Wanawatī, where he informed Sumitra. Sumitra was glad to know that Sutasoma, as a young man, and with benevolent mind, was practising austerities on the King of mountains.

83a. Let us now tell of the host of seers, which was assembled. They were afraid of Sudasa's son ; all the gods were distressed. Now god Indra thought Sutasoma the right man : "Only Sutasoma will kill him." So Śakra and the widadaris had to lead him astray, but they could not prevail over him ; the temptation failed. For three days and three nights they continued tempting him, but did not succeed. Then god Indra assumed the form of a widadari called Kendriya, who went to tempt Sutasoma, but without result. She felt ashamed, showed herself undressed and tried to wash the feet of the prince ; at that moment Sutasoma disappeared and showed himself as Jina[26]. God Śakra paid reverence and the gods, the host of seers, the four guardians of the world, the nine gods[27], the apsaras, the apsarīs and Rudra, all paid reverence. Now the prince considered in his heart : "My father and mother, as they are men, would not know who is adored, even if they saw who is adored here by the gods." So the lord Sadabija disappeared and Sutasoma manifested himself. The gods were awed, they all disappeared, everyone of them was ashamed. Sutasoma remained alone, in steadfast concentration.

Tucapa saṅ ṛṣi Sumitra ; kinen saṅ Keśawa lumawada ri saṅ Sutasoma. Bawis maṅkat saṅ Keśawa, prāpteṅ Mahāmeru ; kapaṅgih saṅ nṛpātmaja ; tuṣṭa saṅ ṛṣi. Śīghra mawarah saṅ nṛpātmaja yen dewatā paḍānĕmbah[181a] riṅ sira : "Widyādharī paḍāmañcana,[182] tan tumama. Tumuluy bhaṭārendra matĕmahan apsarī ṅaran Kendriya, amañcana, polahnya[183] asĕmu kawudan, harĕp arahup suku niṅ pun anak. Pun anak andoh. Meraṅ, kari anĕmbah. Maṅkwa pun anak ahyun[184] mantuk mareṅ nagara." Tuṣṭa manah[184a] saṅ Keśawa. Maṅkwa dinulur de saṅ ṛṣi, tumurun sakeṅ Prawataraja, mahawan tawaṅ, meh prāpte[185] pura Kāśīndra, tumurun maḍarat ri lambuṅ iṅ acala. Sĕk taṅ[186] phala tasak, puṣpanyānĕḍĕṅ, walaharnyāhĕniṅ, matsyanyakweh, kady anuṅsuṅ. Tuṣṭa manah saṅ Jinakula, masūryasewana sirāraryan saṅ ṛṣi madiwasraya.

Tucapa saṅ Daśabāhu pinurug iṅ weri, wadwa saṅ Puruṣāda mapraṅ lawan bala saṅ Daśabāhu, madumduman para putra katiga. Sor taṅ danuja de niṅ para putra. Saṅ Daśabāhu mapraṅ lawan saṅ Jayawiṣṇu. Mapraṅ tigaṅ dina ramyārok ; katĕlasan hru, cakra rĕmĕk, gadā tikĕl. silih praṅ, khaḍganya pĕpĕr riṅ taṅan, maprĕp, wĕkasan silih gĕlut, kaprĕp mukhanya, tan paṅapa, kĕneṅ nakha baṭuk iṅ danuja, rahnya[187] muñcar, malayu, tinut de saṅ bhūpati, manusup iṅ kānana, tinut de saṅ nātha. Maṅka kacuṇḍuk saṅ Sutasoma de niṅ danuja. Tĕka, marĕk anĕmbah riṅ saṅ nṛpātmaja. Liṅ saṅ Sutasoma : "Asura, paran kita iki ?" Liṅ saṅ Jayawiṣṇu : "Pukulun, manira danuja, kaṇḍap[188] apraṅ,[189] anĕḍa iṅurip de niṅ andika pakanira. Naran iṅ patik bra pun Jayawiṣṇu." Liṅ saṅ Sutasoma : "Sapa werinta ?" "Pukulun, maraja Daśabāhu." Tuṣṭa saṅ Sutasoma : "Aja kita saṅśaya." Śīghra ḍataṅ[190].

Let us now tell of the seer Sumitra. He ordered Keśawa to go to see Sutasoma. Immediately Keśawa left ; he reached the Mahāmeru and, to his pleasure, found the prince. Soon the prince told him that all the gods had bowed to him : "All widyādharīs tempted your son, but could get no hold over your son. Thereupon god Indra assumed the appearance of an apsarī called Kendriya, who tempted your son. She showed herself undressed and tried to wash the feet of your son. But your son withdrew. The god was ashamed and bowed. Now your son wishes to return to the city." Keśawa was pleased and Sutasoma, accompanied by the seer, descended from the King of mountains and travelled through the air. They had nearly reached the city of Kāśī, when they descended to the slopes of a mountain. There was abundance of ripe fruits, the flowers were in full bloom, the ponds clear and the fishes numerous as if they came to a durbar. Jina's son was pleased, he worshipped the sun and the seer stopped to pay reverence to the gods.

Let us now tell of Daśabāhu. He was harassed by his enemies, the men of Puruṣāda. These waged war against Daśabāhu's troops, the command over whom was equally divided among his three sons. The danujas were defeated by the princes. Daśabāhu fought with Jayawiṣṇu. They fought for three days, with great noise and face to face; their arrows were spent, their discusses smashed, their clubs broken; they came to close quarters, their swords burst in their hands, they fought with fists and in the end they wrestled, they beat each other in the face, but to no effect; Daśabāhu with his nails hit the danuja in his belly, so that the blood flowed forth; the danuja fled, pursued by the king; he tried to hide himself in the wood, but still the king pursued him. Now the danuja met Sutasoma and, lo, he went to the prince and bowed before him. Sutasoma asked: "Asura, what about you?" Jayawiṣṇu answered: "My lord, I am a danuja, who has been defeated in combat. I beg Your Grace to save my life. The name of your servant is Jayawiṣṇu." Sutasoma asked: "Who is your enemy?" "King Daśabāhu, my lord." Sutasoma was satisfied: "Do not be afraid." Soon afterwards came Daśabāhu. He was astonished to see a handsome man and regretted that he had a dānawa for subject: "Hey, what is your name?" The prince replied: "I am not a lord of the dānawas, nor am I a relative of the danujas. My name is Sutasoma; I have just come down from a holy place.

83b. saṅ Daśabāhu, jĕṅĕr aniṅali[191] wwaṅ apĕkik, hemane awadwa dānawa: "E, sapa aranta?" Liṅ saṅ nṛpātmaja: "ṅhulum[192] dudu tuhan iṅ dānawa, tan kula niṅ danuja. Naran[192a] iṅ hulun Sutasoma, tumurun sakeṅ[193] patīrthan. De niṅ rākṣasa iku amalaku iṅurip saṅkane sun kukuhi." Liṅ saṅ Dhātrātmaja: "Siṅ malaṅa dadi weri niṅ hulun." Maṅkwa malaga saṅ Daśabāhu lawan saṅ Sutasoma. Saṅ Daśabāhu mamanah riṅ saṅ nṛpātmaja, bāṇanya, tĕka, hilaṅ ri harĕp i saṅ nṛpātmaja. Wruh bhagawān Keśawa; ya ta sinapih de saṅ Keśawa: "Bapa, sampun! Sanak ira iku, saṅ lumakw stapeṅ prawata, ṅaran Sutasoma." Maṅkwa binuñcal panah ira de saṅ Daśabāhu; rinaṅkul saṅ antĕn ira de Dhātrātmaja: "Uḍuh, ari niṅ hulun!" Yayi, wentĕn ari ni[194] pun kaka, kanyā, ṅaran Puṣpawatī; pinakapatnya nira!" Liṅ saṅ Sutasoma: "Sakarsa kakāji!" Maṅka pinrih danuja ahyun pinĕjahan,[195] tan pasuṅ saṅ antĕn: "Yen pinakṣa, sahandika! Aṅhiṅ pun yayi masa ahyuna yen aṅalap rayi Pāduka Bhaṭāra!" Maṅkwa mārdawa manah saṅ kaka: "Lah, sakarsa nira yayi!" Maṅke ta kinen mantuka rākṣasa ika, tan pahyun, anĕḍa warāmṛta, ahyun atapa, aminta winarahan ujar kaśāntikan.[196] Tuṣṭa manah saṅ kaka mwaṅ[197] saṅ ṛṣi. Sampun winarahan de saṅ Jinakula, liniṅgan saṅ Asuraparaśujaya. Mantuk saṅ Daśabāhu lawan saṅ antĕn; saṅ ṛṣi Keśawa mantuk hawan[198] tawaṅ. Saṅ bhūpati makarwan[199] ratha lawan saṅ antĕn, dinulur iṅ wadwa. Saṅ Asurawijña kari matapeṅ Kuraṇḍācala.

Lampah saṅ Dhātrātmaja liwat iṅ Magadharāja, anuli riṅ Srawaṅgapati, riṅ Kaliṅgarāja,[200] winṛttakĕn[201] yen kawon de nira. Araryan saṅ nātha irika ; sira patih kinen mantuka karuhun, matureṅ[202] para patnī, kinen kapaṅgiheṅ[203] udyāna Ratna lawan dewī Puṣpawatī lawan para putra,

83b. As that rākṣasa asked me to save his life, I stand by him." Dhātṛ's son said : "Whoever thwarts me becomes my enemy." Now Daśabāhu attacked Sutasoma. Daśabāhu loosed off arrows at the prince, but, lo, they disappeared before the prince. The reverend Keśawa saw this and he withheld Daśabāhu : "My friend, stop ! That man is a relative of yours, who went to perform austerities in the mountains ; his name is Sutasoma." Now Daśabāhu threw his arrows aside and Dhātṛ's son embraced his younger cousin : "Ah, my cousin ! My dear, your cousin has a younger sister, a virgin, called Puṣpawatī ; take her to wife !" Sutasoma answered : "As my cousin the king wishes !" Now Daśabāhu made for the danuja, wishing to kill him, but his cousin did not allow it : "If you will do it by all means, so let it happen according to your word. But then, how would your cousin wish to take Your Majesty's sister to wife !" So his cousin's heart was softened : "Well, be it as you wish ! The rākṣasa was told to go home, but he would not, he begged for the excellent nectar[28] ; he wished to perform austerities and asked to be instructed concerning tranquillity. The prince's cousin and the seer were pleased. Soon Jayawiṣṇu was instructed by Jina's son and was given the religious name of Asuraparaśujaya. Daśabāhu went home together with his cousin and the seer Keśawa returned flying through the air. The king and his cousin travelled in the same chariot and the troops escorted them. Asurawijña remained to perform austerities on mount Kuraṇḍa.

Daśabāhu's way lead through Magadha, then through Srawaṅga and Kaliṅga, and he told Sutasoma how he had conquered these kingdoms. The king stopped there : the prime minister got orders to go home before. He had to inform the consorts, who were summoned to meet the king in the Jewel-park[29] together with princess Puṣpawatī and their sons.

84a. saṅ Śala, Dakṣa, Sucitra, sami kinen kapaṅgiheṅ taman. Saṅ nāthāninĕp iṅ Awaṅga. Śīghra prāpteṅ Kāśīpati, marĕk taṅ[203a] dūta ri saṅ dewi mwaṅ saṅ putra katiga, matur yen saṅ Sutasoma tumurun sakeṅ wukir : "Paduka Swari kapaṅgiheṅ udyāna, saha gṛha, raden dewī pakanira baktaha, raden katiga pakanira tumut." Tan makaḍat, saha purī madan. Dewī Puṣpawatī ananis rahina wĕṅi, kaṅĕn iṅ yayah reṇa nira, tan pahyun tumuteṅ saṅ prabhu. Maṅka iṅipuk iṅ dewara[204] katiga, tan pahyun, aṅhiṅ matya tumuteṅ yayah reṇa karsa nira. Maṅkwa ta hana iña nira, ṅaran Jayasurāga ; nĕhĕr mārdawa, dinus iṅahesan.[205] Ya ta maṅkat hawan ratha, wadwa matuṅgalan damar, polah iṅ amĕṅakĕn[206] kulĕm. Sawega prāpteṅ udyāna Ratna ; eñjiṅ ḍataṅ saṅ Daśabāhu lawan saṅ antĕn. Sampun samāpta hinarayana saṅ Jinakula, sinĕmbah iṅ para putra, maṅinĕp tigaṅ kilĕm.[207]

Ahyun asūryasewana saṅ Jinamūrti ; hana wuhaya asisik kañcana, marĕk iṅ[208] saṅ nṛpaputra, ya ta matĕmahan danuja bhaktīṅ[209] saṅ Sutasoma. Maṅkwa ruwat dadi apsara, [209a] iṅaran saṅ Antakāmṛta, mantuk in amarālaya. Maṅka saṅ Sutasoma ginuṇita ahyun kinare lawan saṅ Puṣpawatī. Maṅkwa kasamāptan de niṅ yodha mantri ; eñjiṅ aṅundaṅ bhujaṅga ṛṣi śewa sogata. Sampun mantuk, kinare haneṅ dalĕm pawaraṅan.

Gĕnĕp sapĕkĕn akrab kalasa, maṅkwa saṅ Sutasoma amwit mantukeṅ Gajāhwaya ; tuṣṭa manah saṅ Daśabāhu ; putra nira katiga maṅiriṅ saha bala, amārga riṅ pasisi. Maṅkwāraryan ahutusan saṅ nṛpaputra[209b] matureṅ saṅ nātha yen [210] ranak ira ḍataṅ.[211] Tuṣṭāmbĕk saṅ prabhu mwaṅ saṅ nareśwarī, gipih adan ; amapag wwaṅ sapuri.

84a. Śāla, Dakṣa and Sucitra ; all these were summoned to wait upon the king in the park. The king passed the night in Awaṅga. The messenger soon reached Kāśī, went to the queens and the three princes and informed them that Sutasoma had come back from the mountains : "Your Majesties with the retinue may please to meet the king in the park and to take the princess with Them. Your Majesties' three sons should also come." Without delay the queens, together with their retinue, dressed. Princess Puṣpawatī wept day and night, she longed after her father and mother and would not obey the king. Her three sisters-in-law spoke gently to her, but she would not go, she rather wished to die and go after her father and mother. Now there was a foster-mother of the princess, called Jayasurāga, [she spoke to her and] soon the princess was reconciled and she was bathed and dressed. So they left by chariot ; each of the soldiers carried a torch and thus they found their way through the night. They reached the Jewel-park quickly and next morning Daśabāhu arrived, together with his younger cousin. Soon a meal had been served to Jina's son and the princes paid homage to him. He stayed there three nights over. The Jina incarnate wanted to worship the sun ; now there was a crocodile with a golden hide[30], she came to the prince, then took the form of a danuja and paid reverence to Sutasoma. She was freed and became an apsarī, called Antakāmṛtā, and returned to heaven. Now Sutasoma was consulted and he was willing to be wedded to Puṣpawatī. The officers and ministers fully agreed and next morning he summoned the priests : seers, Śiwaites and Buddhists. Soon he went to the city and was wedded in the bridal room.

When they had been married for full five days, Sutasoma took leave to return to Gajāhwaya. Daśabāhu agreed and his three sons escorted the prince together with troops ; they took their way along the beach. Then they rested and the prince sent a messenger to inform the king that his son was coming. The king and the queen rejoiced, they dressed hurriedly and all the people in the court came to meet them.

Śighra maṅkat saṅ bhūpati, sawega kapapag[212] saṅ nareśwara ; tuṣṭa manahnya ; sawega prāpteṅ Hastināpura. Maṅkwa saṅ Sutasoma biniseka prabhu riṅ Hastina. Malawas makurĕn, maputra jalu sasiki, ṅaran saṅ Ardhaṇa. Maṅrĕṅö saṅ Daśabāhu, maṅlawad mareṅ Hastina, tuṣṭa saṅ nātha mabesan kaponakan, aṅinĕp sapĕkĕn, tan pĕgat hinarayana de saṅ Jinakula, rinĕṅgarĕṅga saṅ kaka. Maṅkwa amwit saṅ Dhātrātmaja ri saṅ antĕn mwaṅ riṅ[212a] saṅ paman,[212b] śīghra prapteṅ Kāśīpura, balanya mandulur.

84b. Tucapa maraja Puruṣāda, alawas ake sah tan[213] paṅanti yodha, mareṅ kānana ; kapaṅgih wadwa saṅ Daśabāhu apisah,[214] binuru de saṅ Naramāṅsa, meh kacaṇḍak ; ya ta kahajiriṅ śilā[215] aṅgon iṅ[216] pāda rĕñcah. Tiba saṅ bhūtarāja, kasakitan, magĕriṅ, karanĕhan,[217] rapuh rasa niṅ prabhu.[218] Maṅkwa masasaṅi acaru ratu satus salö niṅ wimāna. Maṅrĕṅö saṅ Kālaweśma ; waras de niṅ kasaṇḍuṅ. Ḍataṅ[219] taṅ bhṛtya, paḍāṅulati ri[220] saṅ nātha. Naran iṅ wadwa saṅ Indrabajra, saṅ Wimona, Dumdumbika, Sumala, Bajra, Kaluṣa, Dumendagra, Pakṣīndrawaktra, Dwiradamukha, Subhaṅga, Wikaṭākṣa, Golakṣa, Ḍumala, Ketu, Durlakṣaṇa, Wikampya, paḍānaṅis i jöṅ[221] saṅ prabhu, matakwan mūla niṅ sakit. Liṅ saṅ prabhu : "Kami amburu mānuṣālalaku ; meh kasambuta deṅkwa ; ya ta kasaṇḍun pāda kami. Tiba kami sakit iṅ kānana : nĕhĕr ṅhulun[221a] asasaṅi ababantĕn[222] ratu satus salö niṅ wimāna. Maṅka waras kami. Maṅkwa kita paḍa ameta ratu."

Śīghra maṅkaṭ sakweh iṅ bhūta sewaka tuwin maraja Puruṣāda muṅgw iṅ wimānāhĕlar mas, tumut taṅ bala śata koṭi paḍāsraṅsraṅan aṅalap para nātha. Hana molih ratu, hana kĕna sĕḍĕṅnya harĕp akrama, kasikĕp tĕka niṅ pipinaṅanipun.

Quickly the king went out and hastily [Sutasoma] came to meet him ; the king was completely happy ; soon they reached Hastināpura. Now Sutasoma was consecrated king of Hastina. When he had been married for some time he had one son, who got the name of Ardhana. When Daśabāhu heard this, he came to Hastina to visit Sutasoma. The king was pleased to have a grand-nephew ; he stayed for five days and all the time the elder cousin was entertained and offered all kinds of ornaments by Jina's son. Then Dhātṛ's son took leave from his cousin and his uncle and soon arrived in the city of Kāśī, escorted by his troops.

84b. Let us now tell of king Puruṣāda. He was away from home for a long time and did not stay with his soldiers. He went into the jungle and there found a stray soldier of Daśabāhu. Naramāṅsa hunted him and had nearly seized him, when his foot was pierced by a stone. The king of the bhūtas fell and became ill ; he pined away as the illness became worse and the king felt low-spirited. So he promised Kālaweśma[31] to sacrifice a hundred kings, each seated in a wimāna (?)[32]. Kālaweśma heard him and the wounded foot was healed. Now came his men, all looking for their king. The names of the soldiers were Indrabajra, Wimona, Dumdumbika, Sumala, Bajra, Kaluṣa, Dumendagra, Pakṣindrawaktra, Dwiradamukha, Subhaṅga, Wikaṭākṣa, Golakṣa, Dumala, Ketu, Durlakṣaṇa and Wikampya. They all wept at the feet of their king and asked the cause of his illness. The king related : "I was hunting a man on foot and nearly had I seized him, when my foot was wounded. I fell and became ill in the jungle. Then I promised to sacrifice a hundred kings, each seated in a wimāna. And so I was healed. Now you all must march out to find kings."

Soon all the bhūta knights set out, and with them king Puruṣāda, seated in a wimāna with golden wings, a milliard soldiers followed them, all eager to capture kings. One king was that moment victorious over other kings, one was surprised even as he was going to line up his troops, and was seized together with his allies.

85a. Hana ratu akalaṅĕn riṅ ratnākara, kabandha sa-udaranya. Hana nātha acaṅkrama riṅ acala, kasikĕp sa-udaranya. Hana raja abuburu, kabandha riṅ kānana. Hana nātha dinon iṅ praṅ amapag, kasikĕp sa-udaranya. Hana nātha len kaṅ kĕna[223] kacidreṅ kulĕm, kabandha sānujanya. Hana ratu ahyun amapagāpraṅ, kabhakṣan kabeh. Len saṅ nātha riṅ Mālawa amagut, kasikĕp de saṅ Naramāṅsa. Lawan saṅ nātheṅ Siṅhala pĕjah amukamukan kalawan arinya kasaṅa. Kiraṅ satuṅgal satus, maṅka saṅ nātha riṅ Widarbha, ṅaran maraja Bhoja, kinārya gĕgĕnĕp satus. Śīghra sinrahaken iṅ saṅ Kālaweśma ; liṅ saṅ Kālaweśma : "Sapārane para nātha denta[224] haturakĕn iku ? Iṅ ĕndi saṅkane ?" Sumahur saṅ hyaṅ Rudra : "Puni ka nātha riṅ Wallabha, ṅaran saṅ Nalabeka ; saṅ nātha riṅ Walasri, ṅaran maraja Wirasanda, kaṅ pipinaṅan parĕn[225] ratu pipitu, ṅaranya maraja Śāla, Swalandi, Śurajana, Janati,[226] Rukmaketu, Paśubrata, Subrata : kaḍaton iṅ Walabita, kaṅ aṅundaṅ nātha riṅ Prasala, ṅaran maraja Wisradana ; prabhu riṅ Lĕṅka, ṅaran maraja Wigraṅsu,[227] undaṅundaṅan ira dwidaśa, ṅaran maraja Dharmarāja, maraja Wiṣṇu,[228] Namandara, Kalandaka Pusandara, Ugrabāṇa, Managinda, Rukmasanda, Ruksmagana, Wiroṣa, Sanamanda, Sugradana, Waradāgra,[229] Wiṣāṇa, Warada, Wisandara,[230] Pratasura, Jātawara, Wijāta, Sujāta ; nātha riṅ Mandiratiga,[231] prabhu riṅ Antasara, ṅaran maraja Candrapanānujanya[232] pituwĕlas ṅaran maraja Sudarga, Dunagra, Wigrana, Grana, Supada,[233] Daragra, Namasanda,[234] Pradasa, Mānadhana,[235] Mornaba,[236] Isaka, Susenda, Wṛsesa, Wṛsenda, Jayanda, Wijakesra, nātha riṅ Prasuba, Dewara ;[237] nātha nawa gaṇanya,[238] ṅaranya maraja Banaba, Banajaya, Sayastra, Durbhaṅga, Graganda[239] Wigrada,[240] Sulaja, Wirasaṅka, Wradara,[241] nātha riṇ Burikatana ;[242] ratu riṅ Palawa,[243] ṅaran marajāruṇa, sapta sanak, arinya ṅaranya maraja Sutāgra, Dasapata, Wīrakātma.

85a. One king was diverting himself on the beach of the ocean, he was taken captive together with his brothers. One king was making an excursion in the mountains, he was seized together with his brothers. One king was hunting, he was taken captive in the jungle. One king was attacked in open war and encountered the attack, but he was seized together with his brothers. Another king was treacherously surprised in the night and taken captive together with his sons.

One king tried to march against the invaders. They all were made food (for Kālāweśma) (?). And the king of Mālawa came to meet the attackers, but was seized by Naramāṅsa. And the king of Siṅhala died in the attack together with his nine younger brothers. Now there was only one wanting to the hundred and the king of Widarbha, called king Bhoja was made to complete the hundred. Soon the kings were offered to Kālaweśma. Kālaweśma asked : "What are the names of these kings you are offering to me ?" God Rudra[24] answered : "These are the king of Wallabha, called Nalabeka ; the king of Walaśri, called king Wirasandam, and together with him seven allied kings, called king Śāla, Swalandi, Śūrajana, Janati, Rukmaketu, Paśubrata, Subrata ; the king of Prasala, who resided in the court of Walabita—his name king Wisradana, the lord of Lĕṅka, called king Wigraṅsu ; his twenty vassals, called king Dharmarāja, king Wiṣṇu, Namandara, Kalandaka, Pusandara, Ugrabāṇa, Managanda, Rukmasanda, Ruksmagana, Wiroṣa, Sanamanda, Sugradana, Waradāgra, Wiṣāṇa, War.da, Wisandara, Pratasura, Jātawara, Wijāta, and Sujāta, the king of Mandiratiga ; the king of Antasara, called Candrapana ; his seventeen sons, called king Sudarga, Dunagra, Wigrana, Grana, Supada, Daragra, Namasanda, Pradasa, Mānadhana, Mornaba, Isaka, Susenda, Wṛsesa, Wṛsenda, Jayanda, Wijakesra, king of Prasuba, and Dewara ; a group of nine kings, called king Banaba, Banajaya, Sayastra, Durbhaṅga, Graganda, Wigrada, Sulaja, Wirasaṅka and Wradara, king of Burikatana ; the king of Palawa, called Aruṇa, forming a group of seven with his brothers ; the names of his younger brothers are king Sutāgra, Dasapata Wirakātma,

85b. Prasuta, Bisaka, Jayabāhu ; suta nira maraja Bajrada,[244] ratu riṅ Wilatma, salikur[245] sanak, jyeṣṭha[246] saṅ Baṅli,[247] Siṅhātma, Siṅhawadana, Bahuwinda,[248] Bāhyadanta,[249] Nagradanta, Upasanda,[250] Wiradagra,[251] Manamoha, Katagna, Sanawira, Nilabraja,[252] Sugindra[253] Wasnajana, Suprajana, Wisanda, Kulabra, Ketabraja ;[254] nātha riṅ Gopāla, sawĕlas sanak, jyeṣṭha[255] ṅaran maraja Himacandra, Ganindra, Gameka, nātheṅ Tundaga, maraja Trana,[256] Padmaketu, Maya, Sulandrasta, Sujaraja, Mĕta ; ratu riṅ Mayūra, maraja Subadĕtta ; nātha riṅ Mālawa, maraja Indupati ; nātha riṅ Widarbha, maraja Bhoja. Gĕnĕp satus punika." Liṅ saṅ Kālaweśma : "E, maraja Puruṣāda, norana karsa mami[257] ratu iku kabeh ; ika[258] si iṅoṅ karsani hana ratu riṅ Hastina, ṅaran maraja Sutasoma ; yen kĕna iku, uwakĕna[259] ratu satus iku !"

Maṅkwa maṅkat maraja Naramāṅsa, lumurug mareṅ Hastina. Kañcit ta[260] ḍataṅ[261] bhagawān Winayana, halinhalin riṅ[262] maraja Puruṣāda, aken ambaktaha[263] wadwa makweh :[264] "Kaḍaton iku akeh para nātha mari riku,[265] sĕsĕk kuṭa iku de niṅ prawīra." Maṅka[266] iṅutus maraja Koṣa, Srawaṅga, Kaliṅgarāja ; maṅkwa binakta ratu tĕtĕlu[267] ika saha bala.[268] Tan makaḍat prāpteṅ heṅ niṅ pura Hastina ; geger harohara sakuṭa Gajāhwaya. Mijil saṅ Sutasoma lawan patnī nira, tan pasuṅ apraṅa ; tuwin[269] saṅ Daśabāhu, Śāla, Sucitra, Dakṣa, Śālārdhana,[269a] len para prabhu samadaya, mwaṅ saṅ apatih Jayendra, sami ahyun amĕdalana laga, tan sinuṅ de saṅ Sutasoma ; liṅ ira saṅ nareśwara : "Siṅ amapaga[270] sira pĕjah." Matur saṅ Jayendra : "Pukulun, aniwasi[271] riṅ asewaka Pāduka[272] Bhaṭāra. Punapi si depunayunayun[273] si kawulāsawita, yen tan matya ! Punapi hurupanipun[274] si dāna[275] sāma niṅ Pāduka Bhaṭāra !" Tan apañjaṅ hatur ira[276] patih ; śīghrāmwit manĕmbah, tumuluy[277] maṅkat saha bala ; tumut para prabhu. Tunuli[278] saṅ Śālārdhana maṅkat saha bhṛtyakrama sira muṅgw iṅ ratha, dinulur iṅ para kṣatriya, kadi puṣpa manĕḍĕṅ ; hanāhawan[279] kuñjara, śakaṭa hasti[280] aśwa, mwaṅ saṅ Śāla, Dakṣa, Sucitra ;

Prasuta, Bisaka and Jayabāhu ; the sons of king Bajrada, king of Wilatma, twenty-one brothers : the eldest Baṅli and the others Siṅhātma, Siṅhawadana, Bahuwinda, Bāhyadanta, Nagradanta, Upasanda, Wiradagra, Manamoha, Katagna, Sanawira, Nilabraja, Sugindra, Wasnajana, Suprajana, Wisanda, Kulabra and Ketabraja ; the king of Gopāla and his brothers, eleven together : the eldest is called king Himacandra, then Ganindra, Gameka, the king of Tundaga, king Trana, Padmaketu, Maya, Sulandrasta, Sujaraja and Mĕta ; the king of Mayūra, king Śubhadatta ; the lord of Mālawa, king Indupati and the lord of Widarbha, king Bhoja. That is a full hundred." Kālaweśma said : "Well, king Puruṣāda, I have no wish for all these kings[33] ; the man I wish for is the king of Hastina, named king Sutasoma ; if you can capture him, you may let loose these one hundred kings !"

85b. So king Naramāṅsa departed and marched upon Hastina. Then, suddenly, there came the reverend Winayana[34], who feared for king Puruṣāda and advised him to take many troops with him : "Many kings stay at that court ; the city is crowded with heroes." So Puruṣāda summoned king Koṣa, Srawaṅga, and the king of Kaliṅga and took these three kings and their troops with him. Without delay he came before the city of Hastina ; all the city of Gajāhwaya was in stir and commotion. Sutasoma, together with his consort, came out of the palace, and forbade to make war. Daśabāhu, Śāla, Sucitra, Dakṣa, Śālārdhana[35], all the lords and the prime minister Jayendra, all wanted to sally forth to battle, but Sutasoma did not allow them ; the king said : "The man who takes the field will die." Jayendra spoke : "My lord, Your Majesty wrongs His followers. What would it mean to be beloved by devoted servants, if they would not die [for their master] ! What would be the return for Your Majesty's liberality and kindness !" The prime minister made no long speech, soon he took leave with a bow and immediately marched out with his troops ; all the kings followed him. Immediately after them Śālārdhana left, standing is his chariot, with all his men in orderly array ; the knights—as it were fresh flowers—and Śāla, Dakṣa and Sucitra accompanied him ; some rode

len maraja Daśabāhu muṅgah[281] iṅ ratha ; sĕk taṅ balakrama. Aṅliṅ maraja Jinakula : "Sakehe woṅ apraṅ iki kabeh mati mĕne." Maṅkwa sumahur para pañcaka ika : "Kaki prabhu, sumpun karĕṅö paṅandika nira iku."

86a. Tan warṇana[281a] saṅ kariṅ pura, warṇanĕn saṅ apraṅ mapagut, maṅloṅilinoṅan.[282] Sampyuh[283] tekaṅ laga. Saṅ Duloma pĕjah de saṅ Śāla. Saṅ Dumendagra pĕjah de saṅ Śālārdhana. Saṅ Pakṣīndra pĕjah de saṅ Śālārdhana. Saṅ Subhaṅga pĕjah de saṅ Citraṅsa. Saṅ Sumala pĕjah de saṅ Śāla.[284] Saṅ Sutīkṣṇa pĕjah de saṅ Jayendra. Saṅ Citraṅsa pĕjah de saṅ Dumdumbika. Saṅ Dumdumbika pĕjah de saṅ Jayendra. Saṅ Mohānala, Mukhāgni, Caturkāya, Dhūmawadwa pĕjah de saṅ Siṅhaghoṣa. Maraja Siṅhaghoṣa pĕjah de saṅ Kaliṅgarāja. Saṅ Kaliṅga pĕjah de saṅ Māruta. Maraja Māruta pĕjah de saṅ Koṣa. Saṅ Cedi pĕjah de saṅ Siwanda ; lan nara sinatriya[285] akweh pĕjah. Maraja Koṣa, Siwanda pĕjah de saṅ Daśabāhu. Saṅ Daśabāhu, saṅ Śāla pĕjah de saṅ Puruṣāda. Saṅ Dakṣa pĕjah de saṅ Wimona. Saṅ Jayendra pĕjah de saṅ Naramāṅsa. Saṅ Sucitra malayu, mawarahi saṅ Sutasoma yen yayah ira pĕjah de saṅ hyaṅ Rudra.

Śīghra masĕh maraja Sutasoma, iṅiriṅ iṅ bala, tan ahyun ; paḍa kinon rumakṣa iṅ purī, aṅhiṅ raden Sucitra pinakahastaka lawan para pañcaka[286] mwaṅ butrawa paḍānitihi[287] dwirada. Prāpteṅ samara, ginĕsĕṅ de saṅ Naramāṅsa ; tan gĕsĕṅ, dadi amṛta ; paḍa mahurip sakweh iṅ huwus pĕjah. Krodha saṅ Rudra; mahyun anikĕp, tan kĕna sinikĕp, kady anikĕp wawayaṅan. Meraṅ saṅ hyaṅ Śiwa ; ya ta manambut tomara ; salwir iṅ pṛsaṅka[288] dinukakĕn, parĕṅ sakoṭi lumĕpas, tan tumama riṅ saṅ Jinamūrti,

on elephants, some drove waggons drawn by elephants or horses. And king Daśabāhu drove a chariot. The ranks of the troops followed close upon each other. The king, Jina's son, said : "All these men that go out to war will die ere long." But the religious men replied : "Dear king, let us not hear these words of yours."

86a. Let us not tell of those who stayed behind in the city, let us tell of those who came to meet each other in combat, inflicting losses upon each other. Men fell on both sides in this battle. Duloma was killed by Śāla. Dumendagra was killed by Śālārdhana. Pakṣīndra was killed by Śālārdhana. Subhaṅga was killed by Citraṅsa. Sumala was killed by Śāla. Sutīkṣṇa was killed by Jayendra. Citraṅsa was killed by Dumdumbika. Dumdumbika was killed by Jayendra. Mohānala, Mukhāgni, Caturkāya and Dhūmawadwa were killed by Siṅhaghoṣa. King Siṅhaghoṣa was killed by the king of Kaliṅga. Kaliṅga was killed by Māruta. King Māruta was killed by Koṣa. Cedi was killed by Siwanda ; and many knights were killed. King Koṣa and Siwanda were killed by Daśabāhu. Daśabāhu and Śāla were killed by Puruṣāda. Dakṣa was killed by Wimona. Jayendra was killed by Naramāṅsa. Sucitra fled and reported to Sutasoma that his father had been killed by god Rudra.

Quickly king Sutasoma went to the battle-field ; his soldiers wanted to escort him, but he did not allow them, he ordered them all to guard the city, only prince Sucitra he took with him as his charioteer and the religious men and brahmans followed him, riding elephants. When he came to the battle-field Naramāṅsa tried to burn him, but without result : the flames turned into nectar and all those who had been killed came to life again. Rudra got angry ; he wanted to seize Sutasoma, but did not succeed, as if he tried to seize a shadow. God Śiwa felt ashamed, so he seized a lance, he let off all kinds of arrows : ten millions at a time flew through the air, but they failed to hit the Jina incarnate,

86b. tĕka, hilaṅ, dadi kusuma manĕḍĕṅ : cakra dadi padma, kanigara ; bajra, gaḍāstra[289] dadi raṅkaṅ mas, kadya[290] jinĕm. Asuyi saṅ hyaṅ Rudra, manambut giri sañjata,[291] ginutukakĕn, dadi parigi, rĕmuk sakeṅ taṅan ; daṅṣṭra hyaṅ Parameśwara, tĕka, pupug ri saṅ Jinakula. Asuyi saṅ hyaṅ Rudra,[291] ahyun maṅawakĕna bhuwana. Sawega paḍa tumurun para dewasaṅgya : Indra, Yama,[293] Baruṇa, Dhanendra, Gaṇa, Kumāra, paḍāmuhuti[294] saṅ hyaṅ Bomakesa, mapan dudu sira saṅ[295] apūrba[296] jagat. Maṅkwa mantuk iṅ tuṅgal ira riṅ saṅ hyaṅ Jina. Kari driya nira saṅ Puruṣāda, tiba kadi gunuṅ rubuh ; tan makaḍat awuṅu, anĕmbahnĕmbah riṅ maraja Jinakula, tan pahyun aṅaturĕna[297] riṅ saṅ Kālaweśma : "Maṅka sira dadi apurohita niṅ[298] hulun." Liṅ saṅ Sutasoma : "Sampun maṅkana saṅ prabhu. Manawi kacacad sasaman ira ratu, karsa niṅsun[299] aturĕna kami." Maṅka maraja Puruṣāda masuṅuta, kaṅ tinaṅisan maraja Sutasoma ; liṅ maraja Sutasoma : "Maraja Puruṣāda, yen sira harĕp aguru riṅ hulun, aturĕna kami riṅ bhaṭāra Kālaweśma. Maṅkwa hinaturakĕn hawan ratha akalihan lawan saṅ Naramāṅsa ; tumut para nātha maṅiriṅ. Bawis prāpteṅ weśma Kāla ; kapaṅgih saṅ Kālaweśma ; liṅ saṅ Puruṣāda : "Punika[300] ta,[301] pukulun, kaṅ dera palaku." Sukha bhaṭāra Kāla ; sumahur saṅ Jinakula : "E bhaṭāra Kālaweśma, yen iṅsun dera taḍah, uwakĕna ratu satus." Tuṣṭa saṅ Kālaweśma, ya ta iṅuwakakĕn[302] de saṅ Puruṣāda. Sampun ucul nātha śata, paḍa matur iṅ maraja Sutasoma : "Aṅhur, pukulum, patik Bhaṭāra padĕma sumadi[303] Pāduka Aji. Sampun Pāduka Bhaṭāra." Liṅ saṅ Jinakula : "E saṅ prabhu uttama, awĕlas iṅsun anak rabi nira, paḍa aṅuṅsi kuṭa niṅsun amĕlasakĕn. Lawan ta, saṅ para nātha kabeh, ruṅunĕn pitutur mami.[304] Aja sira aṅlarani hati niṅ woṅ ; ajāmidaṇḍa[305] tan sabĕnĕre ; ajāmalat duwe niṅ wadwa nira ; aja tan asih iṅ daridra ; luluta riṅ paṇḍita ; aja sira katuṅkul[306] iṅ kaguṅan, amujya ṅabhaktya ;[307] aja mamateni[308] yen[309] tan sabĕnĕre ; uttama si

86b. lo, they vanished and became flowers in full bloom : discuses turned into lotuses and water-lilies ; thunderbolts, clubs and arrows turned into a golden pavilion, as it were a bed-chamber. God Rudra was angry, he lifted up mountains for missiles and tried to hurl them at Sutasoma, but they turned into an embankment as they crashed down from his hand, and, lo, the fangs of god Parameśwara were blunted on Jina's son. God Rudra was angry, he wanted to annihilate the world. Hurriedly all the hosts of gods descended : Indra, Yama, Baruṇa, Dhanendra, Gaṇa and Kumāra, all stopped god Bomakesa, for he was not the god who had created the world. So he returned to unity with the lord Jina. The senses[36] of Puruṣāda remained[24], he fell to earth like a crashing mountain. Soon after he regained consciousness and again and again bowed to the king, Jina's son ; he did not wish anymore to offer him to Kālaweśma : "Now be my chaplain." Sutasoma said : "Do not do so, king. If my equals, the kings, are injured, it is my wish that I shall be sacrificed." Now king Puruṣāda wept, he wept over king Sutasoma, but king Sutasoma said : "King Puruṣāda, if you want to be my pupil, sacrifice me to god Kālaweśma." So he went to be sacrificed, travelling by chariot together with Naramāṅsa ; all the kings accompanied him. Presently they came to Kāla's abode and found Kālaweśma there ; Puruṣāda said : "This, my lord, is the king you asked for." God Kāla was happy. Jina's son said : "Well, god Kālaweśma, if you eat me, let the one hundred kings loose." Kālaweśma agreed and so Puruṣāda let them loose. Soon the one hundred kings were free and everyone of them offered himself to king Sutasoma : "My lord, Your Majesty's servant should rather die than Your Majesty. Your Majesty should not die." But Jina's son replied : "Well, excellent kings, I pity your children and wives, who have all resorted to my city, in a miserable state. And now, kings, listen all to my instruction. Do not injure the minds of the people ; do not unjustly inflict punishments ; do not appropriate your men's possessions ; do not withhold your favour from the poor ; be devoted to learned men ; do not rely on your greatness, though people may honour you and pay you homage ; do not put people to death, but for a just reason. Indeed, it will be best

yen[310] sira akalisa riṅ pati, sapuraha riṅ tiwas, aṅulaha sāma dāna, ajāpilih jana." Mĕnĕṅ para nātha, anuhu dudunya riṅ ṅuni ; maṅke ta paḍāṅaṅĕnaṅĕn wuwus saṅ Jinakula, sami amintuhu.[311] Maṅkwa ta[312] saṅ Sutasoma amalampah tinaḍah de saṅ Kālaweśma. Ya ta paḍa matur para santāna, saṅ Daśabāhu, Siṅhaghoṣa, Citraṅsa, Susena, Māruta, Cedi, Śāla, Dakṣa, Sucitra, mwaṅ saṅ Puruṣāda naṅis i jöṅ saṅ Jinakula. Liṅ saṅ Sutasoma : "E para rāja, aja n amalaṅ[313] sira kabeh, tiṅhalana balaka polah iṅsun." Mĕnĕṅ saṅ para santāna. Maṅkwa sāhasa bhaṭāra Kālaweśma; maṅkwa sinikĕp saṅ nātha; pinaṅunusakĕn khaḍga ; ahyun sinuduk,[314] wuruṅ ; ahyun pinraṅ,[315] wuruṅ ; linumahakĕn, kinurĕbakĕn,[316] wuruṅ ; dinuga ñeñeret[317] rudhiranya. Maṅkwa matĕmahan bhujaga saṅ hyaṅ Kala ; ya ta iṅulu maraja Sutasoma, sampun kolu, pāda malĕr iṅ tutuk, tan tĕkeṅ garbha. Maṅkwa makulasahan saṅ hyaṅ Kāla, kadi gĕni karasa riṅ garbha.[318] Mojar saṅ Jinakula riṅ jĕro garbha :[319] "E bhaṭāra Kāla, kuleh iṅsun nora dera[320] ulu pisan ? Paran saṅka nira olĕg amaṅani[321] kami ? Mapan hulun[322] denta kilala." Mĕnĕṅ saṅ hyaṅ Kālaweśma samby anĕmbahnĕmbah[323] riṅ saṅ Jinakula, liṅ ira : "E saṅ Jinarāja, mĕtwa sira, ahuripa, pituturana mami ; kami maṅke apurohita riṅ sira." Sumahur maraja Sutasoma : "Tĕmĕn ta sira ?" Liṅ saṅ Kāla : "Siṅgih, pukulun." Maṅkwa mijil sakeṅ garbha saṅ Kāla ; tuṣṭa manah iṅ para rāja. Maṅkwa ta saṅ Kālaweśma maguru riṅ saṅ Jinakula ; sampun winarah iṅ kaśāntikan.[324] Bhraṣṭa sukha niṅ para nātha tumiṅhal iṅ[325] saṅ Sutasoma. Sampun winarah iṅ aji, sampūrṇa niṅ rāga,[326] paran iṅ mati, sampūrṇa niṅ mati, tinĕmu niṅ mati,[327] hurip iṅ mati, sampūrṇa niṅ apaṅgih[328] lawan kaṅ[329] pinaṅgih. Sampun tĕlas pawarah san Jinakula ; ya ta mantuk san Sutasoma. Pinaraban saṅ Antakadwiman saṅ Kālaweśma, kari matapèṅ giri Gadarba.[330] Maṅkwa sawadwa nira maraja Puruṣāda paḍa mahurip de saṅ Jinarāja, maṅkwa paḍa bhakti ri saṅ Sutasoma, manut saulah ira[331] saṅ Puruṣāda. Sampun pūrṇa[332] dānawa tĕkeṅ turaṅga, wāhana, mwaṅ para nātha katiga.[333] Ramya patut bala[334] danuja lan jana kabeh. Maṅkwa mantuk iṅ Gajāhwaya, inuparĕṅga, hinarayana, paḍa tuṣṭa mapatut saha krama.

if you are indifferent to death and patient in adversity, if you are kind and liberal, without preference for anybody." The kings remained silent, they owned their former misbehaviour and now they all reflected upon the words of Jina's son and took them to heart. Now Jina's son asked Kālaweśma to eat him, but all his vassals, Daśabāhu, Siṅhaghoṣa, Citraṅsa, Susena, Māruta, Cedi, Śāla, Dakṣa, Sucitra and Puruṣāda, offered themselves, weeping at the feet of Jina's son. Sutasoma said : "Well kings, do not oppose me, only see what I am going to do." The vassals fell silent. Now god Kālaweśma rushed upon the king ; he seized him and drew his sword ; he tried to stab him, but to no effect ; he tried to slash him, but to no effect ; he laid him on the back, laid him face downwards, but to no effect ; he tried to drink his blood. Then god Kāla assumed the form of a snake and swallowed king Sutasoma. He had soon been swallowed, but his feet remained in Kāla's mouth, they failed to come into his stomach. Now god Kāla writhed with pain, it was as if he felt fire in his stomach. Jina's son, in Kāla's stomach, said : "Well, god Kāla, why do you not swallow me completely ? What is the reason that you have a dislike of eating me ? For you asked even for me." God Kālaweśma paused and repeatedly paid reverence to Jina's son, saying : "O lord of the Jinas come out, live, and give me instruction. I shall henceforth be your pupil." King Sutasoma asked : "Are you in earnest ?" And Kāla answered : "Yes, my lord." So he came out of Kāla, to the joy of the kings. And Kālaweśma became a pupil of Jina's son ; soon he received instruction concerning tranquillity. The kings were completely happy when they saw Sutasoma. Soon [Kāla] was instructed in sacred knowledge : the perfection of the body, the way of the dead, the perfection of the dead, what the dead will find, the life of the dead, the perfection of those that find and the perfection of what they find[87]. When he had finished his instruction, Sutasoma went home. Kālaweśma was given the name of Antakadwiman and remained behind on mount Gadarba, performing austerities. Now all the men of king Purusāda were brought to life again by the lord of Jinas and they all paid homage to Sutasoma

87a. Tucapa bhaṭāra Suranātha anrahakĕn widadari, gañjaran ira aṅalahakĕn asura, den kadi saṅ Dhanañjaya. Maṅkwa tinulak de saṅ Jina.[335] Liṅ saṅ hyaṅ Surapati : "Punapi ta,[336] saṅ prabhu, karan iṅ tinulak ?" Wikalpa nira saṅ Sutasoma matura yen sampun katĕḍa sih iṅ dewatā kabeh : "Gumanti ta maniṟāṇĕḍa huripane saṅ nātheṅ Siṅhala[337] sasantānabalaturaṅgane." Tuṣṭa saṅ hyaṅ Śakra, liṅ ira : "Haywa saṅśaya." Maṅkwa iṅudanan amṛta, maṅkwa paḍa mahurip saha bhṛtyakoṣa, wāhana ; sakweh iṅ abela paḍa mahurip. Maṅkwa ta amicāra saṅ nātha lawan para kṣatriya, mwaṅ mantri ṅaran Pramoda, mwaṅ ari, saṅ Salwa, Kontara, Janaka, Kaṅgala, Ketu, Māya, Śaṅkha, Racajana,[338] Subala,[339] Subalāntaka,[340] paḍāṅaywani yen marĕkeṅ[341] Gajāhwaya. Śīghra maṅkat saha patnī mungw iṅ ratha.

Tucapa wĕruh saṅ Jinakula yen saṅ Jayawikrama marĕk saha patnī. Maṅka kinen sirāyi nira amapaga ṣaha pisalin tigaṅ raṅsukan[341] sowaṅ garane kapitu, paḍa pisalinĕn piṅ tiga sadina. Maṅke prāpta saṅ nātheṅ Siṅhala, pinapag de saṅ Puṣpawatī saha bhūṣaṇa kapitu ; paḍa pinisalin. Len maraja Jayawikrama, pinapag,[342] pinisalin limaṅ raṅsukan, kaprabhun. Mwaṅ para kṣatriya kasaṅa len saṅ Pramoda pinisalin limaṅ raṅsukan. Ramya patut lawan maraja Puruṣāda. Maṅkwa ta kinen paḍa mantuka para prabhu ika, prasamāmwit sapurasapura,[343] saṅ nātheṅ Siṅhala, Śrīmagadha, Srawaṅga, Śrīkaliṅganātha, Dwārawatī, Wirāṭa, Welarāja, Cedi, Kuṇḍi, Nalabeka, Lĕṅkendra, mwaṅ nātha śata punika, paḍa mantuk

and followed Puruṣāda in every respect. Soon the dānawas were all restored to good health together with their horses and other riding-animals, and likewise the three kings. Danuja and human soldiers rejoiced and lived in good harmony. Now they returned to Gajāhwaya, were offered ornaments and were entertained ; all were pleased and observed good customs in perfect agreement.

87a. Let us tell how god Suranātha offered widadaris as a reward for defeating the asuras, in the same way as they were offered to Dhanañjaya. But the Jina rejected them. God Surapati asked : "King, why do you reject these ?" Sutasoma respectfully answered that he thanked the gods for their favour : "Instead I ask that the king of Siṅhala and his vassals, soldiers and horses may live." God Śakra agreed and said : "Do not be troubled about that." So nectar rained down upon the fallen warriors and they all revived, together with their forces and mounts ; and all the ladies who had followed their husbands into death[38] came to life again. Now the king deliberated with the knights, the minister Pramoda and his younger brothers, Salwa, Kontara, Janaka, Kaṅgala, Ketu, Māya, Śaṅkha, Racajana, Subala and Subalāntaka ; they all thought it right to repair to Gajāhwaya. Quickly the king departed together with his wives, travelling by chariot.

Let us tell how Jina's son heard that Jayawikrama and his wives were coming to visit him. He let his wife go to meet them with three changes of clothes for each of the seven consorts, in order that they might change thrice a day. Now the king of Siṅhala arrived and was received by Puṣpawatī with the seven attires ; all the ladies changed their dress. And king Jayawikrama, when he was received, was offered five suits of clothes, dresses befitting a king. And the nine knights[39] and Pramoda each were given five changes of clothes. They rejoiced and became on good terms with king Puruṣāda. Then all these kings were dismissed and each of them took leave, the king of Siṅhala, Śrīmagadha, Śrawaṅga, the king of Śrīkaliṅga, Dwārawatī, Wirāṭa, the king of Wela, Cedi, Kuṇḍi, Nalabeka, the lord of Lĕṅka and those one hundred kings ; all went home

saha gṛha, kabeh paḍa saha mṛdaṅga nuṅgalnuṅgal, Aṅhiṅ maraja Puruṣāda tan harĕp muliheṅ Ratnakaṇḍa, wentĕn iṅ parwata maṅulahakĕn Jinasmṛiti saha yodha, mantri nira kabeh, paḍāṅulahakĕn kamaharddhikan ; yodha, mantri paḍa mari buddhi[345] hiṅsaka.

87b. Maṅkwa saṅ hyaṅ Jina mantuk iṅ Jinālaya. Saṅ Śālārdhana pinakramakĕn[346] putrī nira maraja Siṅhaghoṣa, ṅaran dewī Rukmawatī. Raden Śāla maṅalap putrī nira maraja Citraṅsa, ṅaran saṅ Antawatī, maṅadĕg ratu riṅ Kāśīpati. Saṅ Daśabāhu mantuk iṅ Dakṣiṅālaya. Saṅ Sucitra maṅalap anak ira maraja Susena, ṅaran dewī Reṅgawati, maṅadĕg[347] nātheṅ · Kumbina. Saṅ Dakṣa makrama ātmaja nira maraja Māruta, ṅaran Saṅkawati, maṅadĕg ratu riṅ Welarājya. Maraja Puruṣāda...[348]

with their wives, each preceded by drums. But king Puruṣāda did not wish to return to Ratnakaṇḍa, he stayed in the mountains concentrating his mind on the Jina. With him were all his soldiers and ministers, leading a holy life ; the soldiers and ministers abandoned any thought of doing harm.

87b. Now the lord Jina returned to Jina's abode. Śālārdhana married king Siṅhaghoṣa's daughter, called princess Rukmawatī. Prince Śāla took to wife king Citraṅsa's daughter, called Antawatī, and came to the throne as king of Kāśī. Daśabāhu returned to Dakṣiṇālaya[40]. Sucitra took to wife king Susena's daughter, called princess Rĕṅgawati, and came to the throne as king of Kumbina. Dakṣa married king Māruta's daughter, called Saṅkawati, and came to the throne as king of Wela. King Puruṣāda......

Note to the Text and Various Readings

*In editing this tale as a specimen from CP I have used the following MSS.

D. Cod. Or. Leiden 4572. See Brandes, Beschr. III. 207b sq., nr. 1189, and Juynboll, Suppl. Catal. II. 222, nr. MCDL. Van der Tuuk as a rule used this MS for his quotations in KBW (though he sometimes used L).

G. A Paper MS lent to the University Library of Leyden by Professor Berg (Bruikleen Berg n° 71). It was copied in 1928 from a palm-leaf MS in the library of I Gusti Putu Djlantik, Singaradja (entered in the owner's catalogue as "A38-44, doos 10"). Details concerning the palm-leaf MS and a table of contents on the first page of the copy. G gives the text of CP from the Wiwudaparwa till the end.

K. A carbon copy, kindly lent to me by Dr. C. C. Hooykaas, of N° 389/7 of the Kirtya, Singaradja. It contains the text of CP from beginning till end. The University Library possesses an identical carbon copy, catalogued as Cod. Or. Leiden 9286.

L. Cod. Or. Leiden 4577. See Brandes, Beschr. III. 209b sqq., nr. 1197, and Juynboll, Suppl. Catal. II. 222, nr. MCDLI.

The Manuscripts H and R came to my knowledge only when I had nearly finished this article, so that I could only make a very limited use of them.

H is Cod. Or. Leiden 6435, a neatly written paper MS, formerly owned by Dr. G. A. J. Hazeu and copied from a MS of Dr. Brandes. It contains the whole CP, only the beginning (one palm-leaf) is missing.

R, Cod. Or. Leiden 9845, is a carbon copy of Kirtya 1357b. It is entitled Kalakeya and contains the tale of Sutasoma from the beginning till 83b.

The University Library of Leyden possesses copies of G and L and parts of D, typed by Mr. Soegiarto, who now and then gave emendations in brackets or in the margin. I have used these typescripts and sometimes followed Mr. Soegiartc's emendations, as will appear from the various readings.

1. *Punika* D. In L the beginning till 79a *ṇa awayah rumājaputra* is missing. 2. *mapriya riṅ anak* G. 3. *Musina* G. 4. *ahyun* D. 5. *sina-witan* G. 6. *Wimona* om. G. 7. *Kumala* om. K. 8. *Dumendagra* D, *Durmedagra* K. 9. *Sudasa* DK. 10. *amayu jagat maṅkwa* G. 11. *aṅolāh* K. 12. *katutut* G. 13. *niṅ* K. 14. *winirama* G, KBW I112b, s. v. hares: *winiraman* (*winirasan* ?). 15. *de ni* D. 16. *saṅ* D. 17. *ragine* K. 18. *ahuduk* K. 19. *paṭik* G. 20. *kla* G. 21. *aṅrasa saṅ bhutarāja* D, *aṅrasa ṅ bhūpati bhuta* G, *aṅrasa butaraja* K. 22. *rasa* D. 23. *taṅ* D. 24. *aṅuṅsi* K. 25. *kantun kakalih* om. K. 26. *saṅ Wīrabāhu saṅ Śranāma matakut i* DGK. 27. *Manawati*, *gumuru* K. 28. *tĕlasaṅ* G. 29. *maṅadĕg* G. 30. *riṅ* om. G. 31. *madhana* G. 32. *lulut saṅ wirabahu masuta* G. 33. *saṅ* G. 34. *Prajñadari* K. 35. *Satwadharma* G. 36. *suta nira saṅ Somadatta* om. G. 37. *paputra mohita manawi de* G. 38. *si ambĕk* G. 39. *punapi* G. 40. *nātha* G.

41. *pasuta* K. 42. *saṅ* G. 43. *punika* G. 44. *maṅkwa pun yayi amicareṅ* G. 45. *nātha liṅ saṅ prabhu : Duh yayi maṅkwa ta pun kaka ahyun* G. 46. *aṅhyaṅa* G, *ahyaṅ* K. 47. *yen anaktya* om. G, *yen anaktiha* D. 48. *anĕda* K. 49. *rumakṣe* K. 50. *manira sukha pĕjaha* K. 51. *dewī* G. 52. *mareṅ* K. 53. *paṅisi* Soegiarto, *paṅisa* G. 54. *palaga*.....: *Daśahāhu* om. DK. 55. *aran* K. 56. *sambya* K. 57. *maṅgarbhini ta* G, *aṅgarbhini* K. 58. *bawis mijil rare jalu* G. 59. *menĕk sireṅ* G. 60. *maken* D, *amakon* K. 61. *aṅañutana putra nira* G. 62. *sinuṅan* G. 63. *iṅulap* G. 64. *Datia* K. 65. *ndĕṅö* G, *jĕṅĕr* DK. 66. *sinamohakaken* DL. 67. *bhiniṣeka* K, Soegiarto ; *binikṣeka* D, *bhinekṣe* L ; *bhiṣeka* G. 68. *kinalulut* K. 69. *Tucapa ta* G. 70. *Jasurāga* GL ; *dyah Suraga* K ; see 84a. 71. *tiga* DK. 71a *putra* D. 72. *pinarabekakĕn* DL. 73. *pinakramakakĕn* D. 74. *atoh* DGK, Soegiarto ; *ajoh* L. 75. *atawiṅ curik* om. K. 76. *santaka* G. 77. *wisonitapriya* GL, *wisonitapraya* DK. 78. *mapatih* G. 79. *datĕṅ iṅ* K. 81. *arabhih ahana* L. 82. *boyaha* K. 83. *papajĕg* G. 84. *pura* G. 85. *datĕṅ* K. 86. *anragakĕn* K. 87. *iṅ* G. 88. *ṅgen* G. 89. *de* G. 90. *punapa* G. 91. *denpunwalat* G. 92. *iṅ* om. L. 93. *maratuha* G, *ra matua* K, *amatuwa* L, *maratuwa* Soegiarto. 94. *iṅ maratuwa* om. K. 95. *punapa* G. 96. *karaṇa niṅ wande* G, *karaniṅ karawande* K. 97. *maṅke* G. 98. *mawit* K. 99. *prāptiṅ* D, *prāpta* L. 100. *pura* DK. 101. *de niṅ* G. 102. *Subajra* K. 103. *Nalabeka* K. 104. *Prabhuharṣa*. GK. 105. *ta hĕṅan* G, *kajĕnĕṅan* K. 106. *praṅ* G. 107. *riṅ* K. 108. *punapa* G. 109. *maṅrĕwĕk* K. 110. *ta pusus* G. 111. *paṅundili* L. 112. *Sulamaṇhru* L. 113. *tuturaṅga* L. 114. *Prasupta* KL. 115. *Prabhuharṣa* G. 116. *kinĕmbulan* K. 117. *kapupuh* G. 118. *Towin* K. 119. *artha* om. K. 120. *iṅ* K. 121 *sagṛha* K. 122. *lan* L. 123. *antyan kaṅ waṅ aniṅali* K. 124. *kalih* L. 125. *wus jaya* G. 125a. *Kalya* D. 126. *Susina* G. 127. *Priyapuspawati* K. 128. *arusuki* K. 129. *mayoga masamadi* K. 130. *sakweh ikaṅ rogasraya* K. 131. *tas dadi irĕṅ* L. 132. *riyuk* G, *puyuk* L. 133. *pande* G. 134. *kasapalikaṅ* K. 135. *posos* K. 136. *guwiṅ* KBWI 652b, s.v. copet 137. *kedĕṅ* G. 138. *perereṅ* K. 138a. *pūrṇa ri urjil* DK. 139. *pituṅ* K. 140. *tadah* K. 141. *tĕhĕr* G. 142. *pandĕg* K. 143. *paṅĕbĕtan* K. 144. *kidul* G 145. *ri* L. 146. *sawĕṅi* K. 147. *tumuluy* K. 148. *tan mantuk* G, *tan tuk* L. 149. *kinĕdag* G. 150. *de* K. 151. *paṅowan* G. 152. *ri* om. L. 153. *lumlampah* L. 154. *anaüt* K. 155. *riṅ* L. 156. *sĕmbahĕnta* G. 157. *ri* K. 158. *kampakampak* L. 159. *sinuṅ saya* L. 160. *olih* K. 160a. *nĕhĕr...wĕkanya* 161. *isun* L. 162. *sinĕsĕb* GL. 163. *paḍa* om. LK. 164. *para wiman, saṅ dipak mwaṅ saṅ nahipada* K. 165. *ihanaṅis* L. 166. *siku* L. 167. *manaṅis* DK. 168. *akusah* K. 169. *niṅsun* K. 169a *Samajawaktra* DK. 170. *aniba* G. 171. *malaku* K. 172. *yen* K. 173. *Maṅkwa* K. 174. *ujareṅ* L. 175. *Dwiradasya* DK. 176. *bhinawanama* L. 177. *ginakopa* D, *likopa* G, *gihopa* L. *Ginakoṣa* (? name of a place) KBW IV634a, s.v. ginakoṣa. Cf. CP 227 *Kaṅ jyeṣṭha wyāghra piṅe, arthajanma, wruh iṅ lara de niṅ tan panut yayah reṇa lumakw atapa ṅaran bhagawān Suwanit, matapeṅ giri Kopa.* and 73a *ṅaran Wagiswaragnyana, matapeṅ giri Kopa.* 178. *tinibanana* K. 179. *tilĕm* G, *kulĕm* DK. 180. *pan* om. K. 181. *yan* DK. 181a. *manĕmbah* K, *anĕmbah* L. 182. *padambañcana* G. 183. *poyah* DGL. *polah* K, Soegiarto. 184. *mahyun* K. 184a. *manah* om L. 185. *prāpteṅ* DK. 186. *taṅ* om

K. 187. *rahnya* om. KL. 188. *kabĕdag* K, *kandag* L. 189. *mapraṅ* G. 190. *ḍatĕṅ* K. 191. *tumiṅali* G. 192. *ulun* K. 192a. *aran* K. 193. *sakiṅ* G. 194. *arin* K. 195. *pinrih kaka amejaei danuja* G. 196. *kasatwikan* G. 197. *mwah* G. 198. *aawan* G. 199. *akarwan* KL. 200. *Taliṅgarāja* G, *Kaliṅgarajya* K. 201. *winatrakĕn* K, *winĕtrakakĕn* L. 202 *matur iṅ* K. 203. *kapaṅgih riṅ* K. 203a. *saṅ* K. 204. *degara* D. *dewīra* G, *gara* K. 205. *dinyus iṅesan* DK. 206. *mbakĕn* G. 207. *kulĕm* GK. 208. *marĕk i* L. 209. *bhakti riṅ* G, *bhakti* L. 209a. *apsari* K. 209b. *nṛpatmaja* K 210. *yan* G. 211. *ḍatĕṅ* K. 212. *saṅ bhūpāti sawega kapapag* om. G. 212a. *riṅ* om. KL 212b. *taṅpaman* om. K. 213. *agawe patan* K, *agepatan* DL. 214. *amisah* K. 215. *kajiriṅ sela* K. 216. *aṅgon iṅ* DKL, *aṅgohṣṭa* D in margine, *ĕṅgon iṅ* G. 217. *karĕnĕhan* K. 218. *prabha* DGL, *praba* K. 219. *datĕṅ* K. 220. *ri* om. K. 221. *jĕṅ* om. G. 221a. *ulun* KL. 222. *abantĕn* K. 223. *len taṅ kena* G, *nātha kaṅ len kĕna* K, *nātha len kakna* L. 224. *denta* om. K. 225. *sarĕṅ* G, *papaṅ* L. 226. *Janati* om. K. 227. *Wighraṅśa* G. 228. *Wisna* DK. 229. *Waradatra* K. 230. *Wisanandara* K. 231. *Mandira titiga* K. 232. *Candrasana, nujanya* K. 233. *Supata* K. 234. *Namasanda* om. KL. 235. *Manadaba* L. 236. *Monaba* L. 237. *saṅ Dewara* G. 238. *nātha nawaganya* G, *kawana watananya* K. 239. *Traganda* K. 240. *Witrada* K, *Wigrana* L. 241. *Pradara*, K. 242. *Buritakana* G, *Bhurikattana* L. 243. *Pawala* DL. 244. *Bajrata* K. 245. *sakur* L. 246. *desta* G, *deṣṭa* DL. 247. *Bahli* L, 248. *Baguwinda* G. 249. *Bhayadanta* D, *Bayanta* K, *Bagyananta* G. 250. *Nagrada, Upasa* K, *Upasanda, Naghradanta* L. 251. *Wiradagra* om. G. 252 *Nilabajra* G. 253. *Susindra* K, *Śugindra* L. 254. *Kulabajra Ketabajra* G. 255. *desta* G, *Theṣṭa* L. 256. *Tunda, Tamaratrena* K. 257. *manira* K. 258. *iki* L. 259. *awakĕna* K. 260. *ta* om. G. 261. *datĕṅ* K. 262. *iṅ* L. 263. *ambakta* GK. 264. *akweh* K. 265. *mareriku* K. 266. *Maṅkwa* K. 267. *tatĕlu* K. 268 *saha bala* GK, Soegiarto ; *sabala* L. 269. *towin* K. 269*a*. *Ardhana* KG. 270. *apapaga* K. 271. *anĕda sih* G. 272. *asewaka ri pāduka* G. 273. *depunahyunahyun de pun ahyunhyun* K. 274. *si depunayunayun...urupanipun* om. G. 275. *urupanipun pidana* ?? Soegiarto. 276. I. K. 277. *tumuli* L. 278. *Tumuluy* K. 279. *ana awahana* K. 280. *hastī* om. G. 281. *muṅgw* G, *muṅguh* L. 281*a*. *warṇa* DL, *warnan* K. 282. *maṅloṅ-linoṅan* K. 283. *Sampun syuh* K. 284. *Saṅ Sumala... Śāla* om. K. 285. *ksinatriya* K. 286. *mañcaka* G. 287. *paḍa* om. DK. 288. *sakwehiṅ pṛsaṅka* D. *sakwehiṅ prasaṅka* K. 289. *saṅśtra* G, *daṅ ıstra* K, *daṅstra* DL. Cf. Sut. CXXXVIII8d s9. *Gĕk ghyĕr tĕmpuh ikaṅ gaḍāstra tumibeṅ kṣiti dadi gĕrĕh iṅ labuh kapāt//Raṅkaṅ mas tĕṅah iṅ wway adbhuta murub kadi siluman aninditāhalĕp/* 290. *kadi* D, *kadiṅ* K. 291. *girisada* G, *girisana* DL. Cf Sut. CXXXVIII9c : *wwaṅ tekaṅ giri sañjateka rumawuh dadi parigi rĕmuk sakeṅ taṅan/* 292. *manambut giri...Asuyi saṅ hyaṅ Rudra*, om. K. 293. *Yama* om. L. 294. *pada mugut i* G, *pada amuhuti* K, *pada muhuttiri* L. 295. *saṅ* om. G. 296. *pūrṇa* G, *apurbwa* K. 297. *aṅaturana* K. 298. *apurohitĕniṅ* G, *purohitaniṅ* K. 299. *karsaniṅulun* K. 300. *Puniki* K. 301. *ta* om. L. 302. *iṅuwakĕn* K. 303. *sumadu* K. 304. *kami* KL. 305. *aja midana* DGL. 306. *atuṅkul* K. 307. *amujya ṅabhaktya* om KL. 308. *amateni* K. 309. *ṅ* L. 310. *si* yen om. K. 311. *sami amintuhu* om. GK. 312. *Liṅ* K. 313. *ajanamala* L. 314. *anuduk* K. 315. *amraṅ* K. 316. *kinurĕban* L. 317. *beberet* GL, *ñeñeret* KBW IV885b s. v. beret, II 527a s. v. duga. 318. *wuruṅ, linumahaken*.. *karasa riṅ garbha* om. K. 319. *riṅ jĕro garba* om. L. 320. *dera* om. K. 321. *amaṅan iṅ* GL. 322. *ṅulum* G. 323. *anĕmbah* G. 324. *winarahan kaśāntikan* KBW III39a (ṣv. śāntika) *winarah tiṅkah iṅ kasāntikan* K. 325. *tumiṅali* KL. 326. *nirrāga* KBW. III39a (ṣv. śāntika). 327. *tinĕmu niṅ mati* om. K. 328. *amaṅgih* K. 329. *taṅ* K. 330. *Kadarba* G. 331. *i* G. 332. *sampūrṇa* K. 333. *mwaṅ para nātha katiga* om. G. 334. *patuṅgala* G. 335. *Jinakula* K. 336. *ta* om. L. 337. *Siṅgala* G, *Siṅala* KL. 338. *rajana* G. 339. *Śubala* DGKL, a diplography ? See Note to the translation 40. 340. *saṅ Balantaka* DK, *sabalantaka* L. 341. *marĕk iṅ* K. 342. *raṅsuk* K. 343. *pinapag* om. L. 344. *sapur-sapura* K. 345. *abudi* K. 346. *pinakramakakĕn* L. 347. *paṅadĕg* G. 348. The tale in all the MSS. ends in a lacuna.

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION

1. Nearly the same genealogy is given CP 70a. There (1) Kālakeya is the son of Kudagra (Kubagra K) ; (2) Hiraṇya's wife is called Mursina (Mursini K) ; (3) their sons are Selara, Śakuni (*dudu Sakuni Korawa, Śakuni danuja*, i.e. not Śakuni the Korawa, but Śakuni the danuja), Kruddhākṣa, Duṣkṛta and Mānakaṅśa. Cf. Arjunawiwāha XXI. 2bc : *krūdhākṣa duṣkṛta wirakta karālawaktra, wetbet hiraṇya-kasipuh kula kālakeya*, i.e. "K., D., W., and K., offspring of Hiraṇya (and ?) Kaśipu, from the race of Kālakeya." According to CP 70a Wirakta and Karālawaktra are among the 100 sons of Kaśipu. Cf. also Smaradahana XXX. 5ab (considered spurious by Poerbatjaraka) : *i wuri tumūt hiraṇya-kasipuh mwaṅ asura winuruk/wĕka-wĕka kālakeya*...i.e. "In the rear followed Hiraṇya (and ?) Kaśipu and shrewd asuras, sons of Kālakeya..."

2. In Sut. (XXI. 3 sqq.) these monstrosities are only ascribed to Śūciloma, who was reborn as Puruṣāda.

3. This feature is not found in any of the recensions of the story of Kalmāṣapāda brought together by Watanabe (see note to the introduction15), but Dr. Pigeaud kindly draws my attention to two parallels. In the Lakon Baṭara Kala, Dewi Uma gives her children *jaṅan* (NJav. for *gaṅan*) *ares* to eat. As she prepares the food she cuts her finger and the blood falls upon the portion for Baṭara Kala (the fourth son of Baṭara Guru and Dewi Uma). He asks his mother for more, but she tells him to ask his father. Baṭara Guru gives him the recipe : several children are wanted as ingredients. So Baṭara Kala becomes a lonely man-hunter, but people finally get help from Ḍalaṅ Putus (the same person as Sĕmar), who succeeds in stopping and satisfying Baṭara Kala. This wayang play has a ritual function, viz. the purification (*ruwat*) of a person. See Th. Pigeaud. Aanteekeningen betreffende den Javaanschen Oosthoek, TBG LXXII(1932), p. 284 sq. In the tale of Lara Joṅgraṅ

of Prambanan (related by J. W. Winter, Beknopte beschrijving van het hof Soerakarta in 1824, Bijdr. tot de taal-, land-en volkenk. ven Ned.-Indië LIV (1902) p. 92 the cook of Raja Gupala cuts his finger, the blood is mixed with the food he is preparing, with the same result for Raja Gupala as for Puruṣāda. In Sut. XXII, 6 the food intended for the king is stolen by dogs and swine, and the cook, failing to find other food, cuts a piece of flesh from the thigh of a dead human body; a close resemblance only with the Pāli Mahāsutasomajātaka.

4. CP 47ab gives a list of the Korawas, which only partly agrees with those in MBh. (Crit. ed. I. 108) and OJav. Ādiparwa (p. 114). Wīrabāhu is found in all the three lists, Sranama in none of them. CP only has *saṅ Sanāma.*

5. By *Pāṇḍawa* Yudhiṣṭhira is meant. Sut. (XVIII. 2-XIX. 3) gives a different account of the descent of Sutasoma's mother (who is called Prajñādharī there): Rawibhoja has two sons, Subala and Jayatsena. Jayatsena becomes a hermit under the name of Sumitra. Candrasiṅha and Prajñādharī are the children of Subala. Prajñādharī's husband is called Mahāketu (I. 5) and, in accordance with Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā, is said to belong to the dynasty of the Kurus and to reign in Hastina. It is easily understood that the parwa author, well acquainted with Pāṇḍawas and Korawas as he was, did not copy a statement which to him must have been absurd. It is also interesting that he makes Sutasoma a descendant of Pāṇḍawa on the mother's side. Cf. Introduction §14.

6. This passage implies that the prince is an avatar of Brahmā. He is often called Dhātrātmaja or Dhātṛputra and at his death returns to Brahmā's heaven, Dakṣiṇālaya (87b).

7. She is called Candrawatī in Sut.

8. Member of a certain social group, a country gentleman?

9. From Śryāwaṅga.

10. In Sut. (LVII.13-16) Koṣa of Magadha is the younger brother of Dewāntaka of Āwaṅga. Koṣa sues for Puṣpawatī, the daughter of the king of Mālawa, but she is married to Daśabāhu. Now Dewāntaka (evidently on behalf of his brother) asks for the hand of Daśabāhu's sister Candrawatī, but is rejected. Hence a war, ending in the defeat of Dewāntaka and Koṣa and their seeking refuge with Puruṣāda.

10a. Cf. 23a : *dalidra/paṇḍita//daridra/wwaṅ kasyasih//*

11. KBW IV.803b s.v. *gambaṅ* : *ginambaṅ*, "beheaded?"

12. The capital of Puruṣāda.

13. According to Tantular Daśabāhu's wives are Puṣpawatī, Wiṣatī, the daughter of a muni, and Sulakṣminī, the daughter of a brahman. Their respective sons are Śāla, Sucitra and Dakṣa.

14. From Ṣaḍabhijña, Buddha.

15. The translation of many of these words for diseases and defects is tenta-

tive only. CP gives a list of such evils (*praceka niṅ mala*) 46a sq. A similar case of miraculous healing, at the birth of Suprasena, is narrated CP 220. Cf. also J. Brandes, TBG XXXII (1989), p. 593.

16. I.e. 210 days after his birth.

17. *DIMPA* is perhaps the Averrhoa Bilimbi L. or the A. Carambola L., *uwī* the Dioscorea alata L.

18. And other recluses.

19. Obviously Sumitra is meant, but then the author of CP here follows Tantular's account of the genealogy and not his own one. Cf. 78b and note 5.

20. Against Gajawaktra.

21. The resort of Gajawaktra. The *kĕpuh* is the Bombax malabarium D. C.

22. This "Elephantsface" alternately is called Nekapawaktra, Wāraṇawaktra, Dipakwadana, Samberawaktra, Wāraṇakuñca, Sāmajawaktra and Dwiradamukha.

23. This arrow has emanated from Sutasoma's concentration and has miraculous power.

24. The god Gaṇa (Gaṇeśa) hitherto has dwelt in Gajawaktra, thus giving him extraordinary power. Now Sutasoma's arrow makes the god withdraw from Gajawaktra's person, who is left a common creature. The same relation obtains between Rudra and Puruṣāda ; cf. 86a. Puruṣāda is therefore sometimes called Rudra and even Śiwa, Parameśwara or Bomakesa (from *Byomakeśa*, Skt. *Vyomakeśa*). It will be observed that this is something different from the relation between a god and his avatar (Jina—Sutasoma ; Dhātṛ—Daśabāhu).

25. He is also called Nāgapāśa.

26. According to Sut. LII. 12 as Wairocana.

27. Śiwa, Īśwara, Maheśwara, Brahmā, Rudra, Mahādewa, Śaṅkara, Wiṣṇu and Śambhu. Cf. P. H. Pott. Yoga an Yantra...(Thesis Leiden 1946), pp. 146 sqq. Rudra is mentioned once more separately, probably on account of his important role in this tale.

28. Of the Doctrine ?

29. In Sut. (LVII.20a and LXVI.1a) this park is called Ratnālaya, a name well justified by its description.

30. Sc. in a pond in the park. In Sut. (LXXIII) there are four crocodiles.

31. In Sut. (CX. 14a and CXL. 9d) (*hyaṅ*) *Kālaweśma* is the name of a mountain, "the abode of Kāla."

32. In Sut. (XCIV.3) he promises to sacrifice a hundred kings in the wood (*macarwa ratu satus iṅ wana*).

33. Because they have little merit and force, are defiled, no good food and tasteless (*hīnaguṇālpaśakti kaluṣa ndātan subhukty āsepa*/Sut. CXI.1b).

34. Nārada.

35. I. e. Ardhana. Śāla and Ardhana are frequently mentioned in the same breath in Sut.

36. The ten senses of Indian physiology : the animal organism.

37. A similar enumeration of topics CP 77b.

38. This event is related at length Sut. CII-CVII.

39. Obviously Jayawikrama's younger brothers, but above (87a) ten names are given. See Various Readings note 339.

40. Brahmā's heaven. Cf. note 6.

J. Gonda

KARMAN AND RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE IN ANCIENT JAVA

As is well known the galleries of Borobuḍur are lavishly furnished with beautiful reliefs, executed with loving and painstaking care. Of the eleven series of reliefs, which all illustrate episodes taken from Buddhist texts, the lowest series was, already before the completion of the monument, hidden from view because in the course of the construction it became apparent that the base could not withstand the pressure of the superstructure and had therefore to be surrounded by a broad retaining embankment. The result was that not only the mass of the stūpa assumed a heavier aspect than was originally intended, but also a series of one hundred and sixty nearly finished fine panels were completely buried. This lower basement was discovered and excavated in 1885 by J. W. IJzerman.[1] An interesting peculiarity of its reliefs is that a considerable number of them preserve short inscriptions, consisting of Sanskrit words given, in the usual Javanese manner, in their stem-form[2], and obviously intended for the guidance of the artists who were to carve the panels[3]. They indicate what scenes were designed for the various parts of the enormous series of reliefs. They did not however enable the Dutch archaeologists who studied the reliefs to identify the text which had been followed. So much however was clear that the whole series was to illustrate the connection between cause and effect and that a successive group of ten panels represents scenes from the Buddhist hells. It was only in 1928 that the source of the illustrations was discovered by the French savant Sylvain Lévi who had, six years before, found a Nepalese manuscript of the Mahākarmavibhaṅga.

This Sanskrit work—which also occurs in Tibetan, Chinese and Kuchaean versions—does not only furnish us with the text followed by the Javanese artists, it also contains some of the words occurring in the above short inscriptions[4]. The text itself was edited by Lévi in 1932: Mahākarmavibhaṅga et Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa[5]. This "Great classification of the karmic acts" is a Mahāyāna work describing in orderly sequence the operation of karma, the relations between cause and effect, in reincarnation, in heaven and in hell. It deals with morality on an earthly plane, showing that every thought, act, or feeling results in some form of happiness or in some terrible mishap[6]. On closer inspection it is a rather poor composition, an arid catalogue of similar conditions and situations, which does no justice to the grandeur of the Buddhist doctrine of cause and effect. In harmony with this text, but in contrast to the reliefs of the higher galleries, the panels of the buried basement of Borobuḍur represent scenes from daily life, including even fighting, murder, and the killing of animals[7]. In addition to these they show—particularly in the second half of the series—the pains of hell and the pleasures of heaven so as to supply a full round of saṃsāra. By presenting the good and evil deeds performed in earthly life as followed by reward and punishment and by unfolding thus the chain of all those forms of delusional existence from which Buddhism brings deliverance, the reliefs of the basement were to impress upon the visitor the temporal foundation from which the Buddhist doctrine, illustrated in the upper galleries, takes its start.

Now, the contents of the Mahākarmavibhaṅga may be summarized as follows: the paragraphs 1-22 give—up to § 15 in pairs—answer to questions as to the causes of misfortune or happiness (a short life : a long life etc.), of rebirth as an animal, in the world of Yama, in that of the asuras, that of men and in various worlds of gods; the paragraphs 23-39 give definitions of various deeds—e.g. §27 "by which deed does a being incur the torments of hell so as to stay there for a complete life of hell ?" ; §33 "by which deed does a being after having become fortunate become unfortunate ?" ; §37 "by which deed does a being become rich and at the same time avaricious ?" ; in the twelve paragraphs 40-51 (one number occurs twice) similar questions are posed with regard to individuals—e.g. "who is the individual, whose duration of life is exhausted, but not his karman ?" (§40), or "whose merits and term of life are come to an end ? (§43)", three paragraphs (48-50) discussing the circumstances under which one is reborn as an animal, while being well-shaped, ugly, etc. ; the paragraphs 50-61 discuss the ten bad paths and the bad consequences for those who follow these paths—e.g. attempts on the life of fellow-creatures result in the disappearance of the power and energy of the earth and in an early death (§ 52) ; lies and falsehood result in diseases of the mouth (§55) ; in the paragraphs 62-76 answers are given to questions as to how those who worship in sanctuaries or give donations such as food, drink, a parasol, perfumes, flowers etc. are rewarded ; the last four paragraphs (77-80) are devoted to the good characteristics of those who enter into holy orders etc.

It is interesting to study the relation between this text and the reliefs of the great Javanese monument[8]. The first peculiarity of the latter which does not fail to strike us is that they completely disregard the examples introduced by *yathā* which in the Karmavibhaṅga are added to the theoretical expositions given as answers to the questions by which the paragraphs are introduced. As these exemplifications would have lent themselves admirably to the purpose of the sculptors, the probabilities are that the text followed by them did not contain the examples at all. A second point of general interest concerns those deviations from the text which may be explained from the supposition that the sculptors who in all probability were unable to read the Sanskrit text, and who may have received oral instructions, did not succeed in reproducing its contents exactly. Now a detail contained in the text is omitted, then again a particular figure or event does not tally with the printed work.

Turning now to the illustrations of the sojourn of sinners in hell there is a striking discrepancy between the text and the reliefs. Instead of the short and generally worded §15 of the former the sculptors have furnished us with no less than seven reliefs which in a very systematic way show, each of them, a 'cause' and an 'effect'. On the four reliefs 86-89 the eight great hells Saṃjīva, Kālasūtra, Saṃghāta, Raurava, Mahāraurava, Tapana, Pratāpana and Avīci are represented together with illustrations of the causes which have condemned the sinners to the tortures. The next three reliefs contain similar scenes which may have been intended to give an idea of the *utsadas* or 'supplementary hells'. It is of course impossible to decide whether the version of the Karmavibhaṅga used by the architects exhibited a more detailed description of the hells than that contained in the texts which were edited by S. Lévi. They may also have borrowed this passage from another source. The illustration of § 16 ("what is the cause of an animal rebirth ?") is more detailed and more systematically arranged than the text, because it shows us two classes of animals, to wit birds and quadrupeds, whereas the Karmavibhaṅga speaks only of "an animal"[9]. Differences in particulars are also visible on the next panels ; now some details mentioned in the text are omitted, then again the illustrations do not correspond with the text. Perhaps the sculptors used another, and somewhat more detailed, version. The contents of the paragraphs 23-26 ; 30-32 which do not lend themselves to representation (performing a deed while being asleep) are not reproduced on the reliefs. The three cases mentioned in the paragraphs 27-29 are no doubt for practical reasons reduced to two : the experiences of those men who have to stay in hell for a long time and the departure from the place of harror of the individuals who are reborn immediately after their arrival. It is however just possible that, here again, the text followed did not tally with ours. Curiously enough this Sanskrit text discusses in the paragraphs 37-39 three types of individuals, the rich miser, the poor man who is liberal and the open-handed rich man. The poor miser, who may be expected but fails to turn up, is however mentioned in the table of contents contained in the manuscript A, in one of the Tibetan texts and in the Chinese and Kuchaean versions. On Borobuḍur we see the generous rich man (panel 116 : §39), the poor miser (panel 117), whereas the relief 115 does not correspond exactly to the paragraphs 37 or 38 ; panel 114 was left unfinished. The contents of the paragraphs 40-50 do not figure on the Javanese monument. As to the paragraphs 51-78 they are, generally speaking, represented, but the order of the panels is not always the same as that adopted by the author of the text and sometimes a passage or a detail represented on the monument and furnished by the Chinese and Tibetan versions is missing in the Sanskrit text. Incidentally a deviation may by way of hypothesis be ascribed to the sculptors as well as to their text ; in other cases the relation to our text cannot be determined exactly because of the imperfect condition of the representations. With regard to the paragraphs 62-76 in which the rewards of worship and gifts are enumerated there is room for the observation that in contradistinction to the Sanskrit text which in every case enumerates ten rewards or benefits, the architects made their choice, limiting themselves to part of that number. Incidentally, they seem to have made some mistakes or to have taken the liberty to depart from their source, unless, again, the latter was not identical with the texts published by S. Lévi.

In view of the above discrepancies and of the fact that on Borobuḍur reliefs no trace is to be found of the introduction of the Karmavibhaṅga, of the paragraphs containing definitions, and of the commentaries, there is, as already intimated, a great chance that the sculptors followed another version of the text. This supposition gains in probability when we realize that the scheme of the exposition as adopted on the monument is more logical and consistent than that adopted in the text published by S. Lévi. As there is little room for the hypothesis that it has been the architect or the sculptors who invented a version of their own, the chances are that they used a text, lost to us, which, whilst omitting what is superfluous, set out the subject-matter in a shorter and more satisfactory way. Anyhow, what is represented on Borobuḍur consists of two parts, viz. a series of deeds leading to a definite effect (relief 1-117), and a series of effects arisen from a definite cause (relief 118-160). It remains to make mention of some points of difference between the edited texts : relating mainly to additions and the order of the paragraphs, they seem to show that the text followed by the architects of Borobuḍur, the Chinese text by Gautama and the printed Sanskrit work, in contradistinction to the Tibetan versions and another Chinese text, represent the same tradition. What is however interesting is the incidental difference in order between the short inscriptions—which must have been engraved before the reliefs because they were intended for the sculptors—and the scenes on the panels themselves. Whatever the cause of this remarkable fact, neither order tallies with any one of the above texts, which therefore cannot guide us in expressing an opinion with regard to their mutual relationship.

Curiously enough, the working method adopted by the sculptors is modified exactly at the same point where both orders, that of the inscriptions and that of the panels, begin to diverge[10]. Does this coincidence point to an intentional change made in the sculptors' scheme during the execution of the work, in the replacement of one Karmavibhaṅga text by another ? Similar observations may sometimes be made in connection with Old-Javanese texts based on Sanskrit works: where the original sources or parallel texts diverge, the Javanese author incidentally has gone a third way.

Yet the very occurrence of these divergences is not surprising, because much that was taught about karman and saṃsāra, about heavenly bliss and the torments of hell must have been borrowed from popular belief[11]. The Mahāyāna literary sources are, then, far from being unanimous with regard to the retributions for bad and evil conduct. That the ancient Javanese were, like their fellow-Buddhists in other countries, much interested in these subjects, and especially in the punishments awaiting the sinners, appears also from literary sources. From an unpublished thesis by W. Kern[12] dealing with the occurrences of hells in ancient Javanese and Balinese literature, it appears that many Indian ideas of the places of torture found their way also into some of the Archipelago. In the Buddhist Kuñjarakarṇa[13] we possess for instance an interesting Mahāyānist edifying legend, in which the yakṣa or giant Kuñjarakarṇa goes, on the advice of Vairocana, the chief teacher of the Law, to the realm of Yama in order to behold the horrible torments of the sinners. Yama himself teaches him the 'physiology' of transmigration. As he finds out that his friend, the vidyādhara Pūrṇavijaya, is before long expected to arrive in hell, where in consequence of his misbehaviour he will be plumped down into the big kettle, he returns to the earth and tells his friend what he knows. Not being able to help him he brings him to Vairocana, who gives him instruction in ethics and physiology so that he gets an insight into the profound truths of the Buddhist doctrine. After having attained to higher wisdom he is initiated and becomes a god. Then it is Pūrṇavijaya's turn ; he too receives instruction ; his sins and sinful desires are annihilated and Vairocana assures him that he will be dead for a short time and endure only part of the pains of hell. He dies and is punished, but as the servants of Yama are about to throw him into the big kettle, the fire goes out and the kettle breaks to pieces. By the grace of the Lord Pūrṇavijaya rises from the dead beaming with health and youth. He calls up all the vidyādharas to pay homage to Vairocana. As the gods join them Yama seizes the opportunity of asking the Lord why Pūrṇavijaya was delivered from hell so soon. Vairocana now relates the past history of both friends. In their former earthly existence they had been guilty of improper jealousy and had been, without any reason whatever, angry with a poor and honest man. Because they had also performed good deeds they were reborn as a yakṣa and a vidyādhara. Vairocana inculcates the gods—who are also subject to birth and rebirth—with the truth that the good and evil deeds will inevitably result in happiness or disaster in the next life. Pūrṇavijaya and Kuñjarakarṇa devote themselves to severe asceticism at the foot of the Mahāmeru and are, after twelve years, released, by the grace of the Lord, to be Siddhas in the abode of the blessed.

Although this legend is Mahayānist in character, it betrays—like many other Javanese and Balinese works—a tendency to syncretism. The author seems to have left us under the impression that those who recognize Vairocana as the highest Lord and Teacher are neither Buddhists nor Śivaites in the proper sense of the terms. The gist of his philosophical instructions is a monistic pantheism in which the sovereign Vidhi corresponds to the highest Brahman of the Vedānta philosophy. Vairocana, who identifies himself with both Śiva and Buddha, is also called Yogīśvara. The (Javanese) Śivaite doctrine of the Pañca Kuśika, i. e. the Pañca Ṛṣi or Pañcendriya, is brought into harmony with the Buddhist doctrine of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas. The well-known theory of the five prāṇas bears, in this work, an undeniable resemblance to the Buddhist doctrine of the five skandhas.

In answer to Kuñjarakarṇa's question whether those who have to stay in hell may be reborn Yama teaches that they will successively reappear on the earth as worms or leeches, next as ants or beetles, then as snails or locusts, as birds and finally as quadrupeds, as deformed humans, as impotent, blind or epileptic men etc. : "these are the marks to show that a man has stayed in Yama's realm". Whereas the same 'evolution' returns in a less developed way in the Chinese Buddhānusmṛtisamādhisūtra[14] it is elaborated in another hitherto unpublished Javanese text[15] which while enumerating the diseases or physical defects of human beings brings them into a causal connection with a variety of torments to be undergone in the infernal regions : when a person has died as a sinner or a criminal he is dragged along by his evil deeds to the abode of Yama, where he is put to the rack by the divine Yamabalādhipati (!) ; afterwards he is reborn as a sickly or disabled human being. This work puts in most cases the punishments on the one hand and the diseases or physical defects on the other together ; for instance, the man whose tongue has been cut out by Yama's servants returns to the world of men with a short tongue and a speech-defect. Another text, the so-called Putrapasaji[16] describes the road along which the deceased have to go ; it leads through seven mountains (Mahāmeru, Malaya, Śuktimān, Vṛkṣavān, (H)imavān, Makuṭa and Vindhya). It is in these regions that they have to endure those tortures which according to other sources are to be experienced in hell. The victims are those for whom no funeral rites have been performed, those who have a deficiency of religious merits (who have not applied themselves to the dharma), or have been lacking in compassion and liberality, those who have no offspring or have not died from natural causes, those who have been envious, violated their word, duped animals etc., each of those sins being requited with special punishments. In another text dealing with physical defects resulting from crimes and offences committed in a previous existence, the Sevadharma[17], the punishments of liars and deceivers are however not completely identical. The Putrupasaji devotes also some pages to the bliss of heaven : those who have kept their promises are admitted to the white eastern heaven, which is ruled by Iśvara ; those who worshipped the gods to the red heaven in the South, governed by Brahmā ; those who have performed meritorious deeds to Mahādeva's yellow residence in the West ; the heroes who behaved bravely to the black heaven of Viṣṇu (Viṣṇupada) in the North ; those who have made the funeral sacrifices for the benefit of their parents will go to the blue north-eastern heaven which is presided over by Śambhu ; the monks and nuns to the Indrapada in the South-East which is bronze-coloured ; the reliable and trustworthy to Rudra's residence, which being brass-coloured, is in the South-West ; the rewards for conjugal fidelity are enjoyed in Śaṅkara's bronze-coloured heaven in the North-West ; powerful ascetics are finally received in the Śivapada, Śiva's residence, which is situated in the centre of the celestial regions[18]. This classification has survived in the island of Bali to modern times.

It may be seen from all these works, not only how frequently the ancient Javanese authors turned to these subjects, karman, recompenses and retaliations, life in heaven, and especially to the fate of those who were sentenced to hell, but also that there is no essential or fundamental difference between the views of the Buddhists and those of the non-Buddhists.

At this point it will be worthwhile to examine more closely an interesting Old-Javanese treatise of greater length, the *Agastyaparva*[19]. This work which, in print, fills about 60 pages, consists, in the usual way, of a conversation between a guru, the famous Agastya and a disciple or interrogator, his son Dṛḍhasyu, in which the former does, of course, most of the talking. The questions posed by Dṛḍhasyu suggest a convenient division into twenty-three chapters, not all of which are however strictly speaking completely relevant. After four introductory chapters almost the entire book consists of a relation of the genealogy of the brahmarṣis, especially of Dakṣa and his offspring. These genealogies however, serve as a framework encompassing treatises of a didactic, theological or philosophical character, alternating with short stories or legends connected with one of the persons mentioned in the course of the author's expositions. The treatise is decidedly Śivaite in character. Whereas the genealogical part of the work reminds us of a parallel in the Old-Javanese Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa[20], it is not so easy to find parallel passages to the theological and philosophical episodes, however much they resemble, in character and purport, and often also in detail, similar episodes in many Indian works of the epic, śāstric, and purāṇic varieties, as well as certain paragraphs of the old-Javanese Saṅ hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan[21], the Koravāśrama[22] and similar works.

Now after discussing some other topics—e.g. the origin of the world and the gods, the Manu periods, the daughters of the patriarch Dakṣa—chapter six is introduced by Dṛḍhasyu's question as to the reasons for which men go to heaven or hell. In explanation of the śloka which is given in answer[23] :

Kāyiko vācikaś caiva jñānam eva tathaiva ca
narakānāṃ nimittatvaṃ svargasopānam eva ca ;
śarīrajaiḥ karmadoṣair yāti sthāvaratāṃ naraḥ
vācikaiḥ pakṣimṛgatāṃ mānasair antyajātitām.

Agastya furnishes his son with a brief account of the miserable consequences of sinful behaviour, amplified by many examples of special cases in which diseases and physical defects sprang from the sins committed in a former life. The description of the tortures to which the sinners are subjected in the nether world, the sojourn in heaven of the well-conducted who are distinguished for asceticism, sacrifices and what is called *kīrti*—i. e. *dharmakriyā*-(Mānavadh. 12, 31) : *dānādikarmānuṣṭhāna* (Kullūka), to wit "the erection or laying out of places of worship, monasteries, sanctuaries, pounds, fountains, terraces etc."—the digression on the five mahāyajñas and other particulars are completely Indian.

In order to characterize this work and to give an idea of the contents of the relevant chapter we will now examine more closely the passage following the above śloka *śarīrajaiḥ* : "through sinful arts due to the body, man is reborn in the class of plants or minerals ; through those of speech he becomes a bird or a beast ; through those of mind, he is born in the lowest class". This stanza—one of the many with which the work is interlarded—is in the usual way paraphrased and explained. The next śloka—which runs as follows :

dharmaśīlaṃ naraṃ loke draṣṭuṃ necchati kātaraḥ
pretyabhūtya vācakṣyuḥ syād mahārauravasaṃbhavaḥ

turns to a more detailed explanation of the last part of the preceding stanza : "the faint-hearted one who in this world refuses to take notice of a man of virtuous disposition, will after death and after having stayed in the hell Mahāraurava be blind". Although blindness as a result of sin is also mentioned in various Indian texts (cf. e. g. Mānavadh. 11, 52) I have not succeeded in tracing the source of this particular śloka, which in all probability was followed by a pendant which, though omitted by the Javanese adapter of the text, has been paraphrased as follows : "but who rejoices in seeing (people) liking fisticuffs, people thumping and kicking, people who cudgel and injure other people, the character of such a man produces the effect of his being reborn as a blind man, because the Lord has created the eyes for the purpose of seeing virtuous and correct behaviour."

Now, the cudgeling, kicking and injuring returns in the Karmavibhaṅga, § 3, as the cause of pain and grief. Whereas however rejoicing in, and praise of, these wicked deeds are in that text added as resulting in the same effect, no mention is made of blindness. The next passage of the Agastyaparva deals with the unpleasant consequences of concealing what should be said and saying what should be suppressed : the punishment is dumbness. A similar mishap, the same text continues, will fall upon the man who does not want to hear what should be heard : he will after death be deaf and held in contempt.

It is not surprising that in literature of this variety the same sins and crimes are over and over again connected with other punishments. There obviously was no uniform and consistent tradition with ragard to many details. Thus the Buddhist tradition of Karmavibhaṅga and Borobuḍur on the one hand and the

Śivaite tradition represented by the Agastyaparva on the other, though touching upon the same subjects, diverge with regard to details or to the point of view from which the facts are related. The man who is subject to the vices of envy, anger, or cupidity, will, according to the latter source, be reborn as a member of a despised community of mlecchas, according to the former go to Yama's world.

The next paragraphs of the Agastyaparva deal with the paralysed who have in a former existence violated the dharma, especially by appropriating the possessions of their fellow-men (cf. e.g. Mānavadh. 11, 51 ; Viṣṇusmṛti 45, 14 : *aśvāpahārakaḥ paṅguḥ*) ; the scabby who have been guilty of adultery in the bed of their guru (cf. Mānavadh. 11, 49 *dauścarmyaṃ gurutalpagaḥ* (sc. *prāpnoti*) ; Agnipur. 370, 32 ; Garuḍapur. Sār. 5, 4, etc. etc.) those who suffer from warts, tumours etc. who have had intercourse with women with whom cohabitation is forbidden (cf. e.g. Padmapur. 4, 48, 55 ff.) ; those who are subject to severe colds and coughing-fits who have been slanderers and instigators (Mānavadh. 11, 50 ; Agnipur. 370, 34 etc.) ; the consumptive patients who have held their parents in contempt.

Part of the passage is worth examining more closely, viz. Ag. p. 353, 1. 27-29 : "as to the man who is subject to mucus secretions, whose nose is stuffed-up, *piśunaḥ pautināsikyam* (Mānavadh. 11, 50 ; cf. Viṣṇusmṛti 45, 7 etc.), i.e. he would in his former existence slander and betray his fellow-men". This sentence reminds us of Karmavibhaṅga § 55 "the maturation of the evil deeds consisting of lies produces as effects dental diseases, throat-diseases, a foul breath etc. ...".[24]

Roughly speaking, there is moreover a parallel in the Karmavibhaṅga which in § 5 condenses these topics into an answer to one question : "by which deed becomes a man misshaped ?" The answer is : "by anger, resentfulness, hypocrisy, acerbity, speaking ill of father, mother, clerics, children, old men ; neglecting religious buildings and monuments, laughing at misshaped men ...". According to §7, however, disregard of parents, invalids, children, old and virtuous people, is together with envy, jealousy, the cause of a rebirth in a low social class. There is however a passage in the Agastyaparva which resembles this passage of the Karmavibhaṅga somewhat more closely, viz. p. 358, 1. 20 ff. : "as to the woman who though being handsome, rich and of noble descent, is not liked very much, is passed over by the young men, people never give her a thought ..., her character was in a previous existence :

nininda hīnadīnān yā bālavṛddhāṃś tathaiva ca
virūpaṃ vīryahīnaṃ vā jātabhavā tu ninditā

"who despised the poor (defective) and miserable and also children and old men, the misshapen and the man who is deprived of virility, (becomes) prosperous, but despised", that means : "the character of that woman formerly was such that she had a dislike of the crippled, weak and poor, she would not associate with the poor ; when she saw children, boys, paralysed men (?), epileptics and weak people, she despised them ; she found fault with a man who was devoid of virility. She did not consider them men ; only when there was wealth, beauty, noble descent, virility, she regarded them as men. Because she was devotedly attached to the Lord she was reborn wealthy, handsome, and noble, but her (above) antipathy to the weak was the cause of her remaining unmarried. She will die a spinster". Although the Karmavibhaṅga does not limit itself to women—see Garuḍapur. Sār. 5, 26 ff. and for the behaviour of women e.g. Mbh. 13, 123, 7 ff. ; Mānavadh. 5, 149 ff. ; Mahānirvāṇatantra 8, 102 ff. –, it makes mention of similar defects of character.

Passing mention may be also made of Agastyaparva p. 358, 1. 12 ff. : the wealthy and happy man who suddenly falls a victim to arrest, looting, false accusations etc. As a counterpart of this type the Karmavibhaṅga, as stated above, provides us with the example of an individual who after having been prosperous becomes unfortunate. Whereas the Śivaite text ascribes the mishap to a shortcoming in the ritual sphere—*dhūpahānaḥ sadābhavat* "he always failed to offer a sufficiency of incense", the Buddhist author sees the cause of the misfortune in regret for benevolence (§ 33).

Reverting to p. 354 of the Agastyaparva we must speak briefly of those who suffer from paleness (who were liars), from redundancy and crookedness of limbs (they were adulterators of grain etc. : Mānavadh. 11, 50) ; of dwarfs (they were corn thieves). In answer to another question of his son's, Agastya describes the mechanism of transmigration, the arrival of the sinners in the hells, where they will be subjected to tortures for so many years as there are hairs on their bodies, and their rebirth. Next he turns to those who go to heaven and are reborn as excellent people.

Special mention must at this point be made of Karmavibhaṅga §15 which may be compared to the above-quoted Agastyaparva p. 351, l. 10 f. ; 22 f. : "which deed results in a rebirth in hell ? felony with body, word or mind performed by a person of depraved character, various wrong opinions, ingratitude, implacable sin, slanderous accusations of virtuous people". Whereas however the Karmavibhaṅga devotes three paragraphs to those who go to heaven, viz. the Kāmadhātu, the Rūpadhātu and the Arūpadhātu heavens, the Agastyaparva contains one stanza which, being corrupt, has so far not been identified (p. 355, l. 20 f.) :

tapo yajña śūrāmbharyam akarot su va janmani
aho svargam avāpnoti yoge mokṣam avāpnuyāt

"the man who in an existence devoted himself to asceticism performed sacrifices and took, in a correct way, care of the works intended for the gods (*surakāryam* ?), ah, he gains heaven and he will, in yoga, attain to final deliverance". In the Javanese paraphrase and explication mention is made of asceticism, sacrifices and kirtis.

In contradistinction to the Karmavibhaṅga which turning, after the rebirth in the infernal regions, to those who re-enter the earthly scene as an animal, ascribes this fate to crimes and ill behaviour of the middle class, committed by body, word, or thought, i.e. to deeds dictated by passion, hatred, infatuation etc. (§16), the Agastyaparva, while combining a discussion of this point with a reference to rebirth in the vegetable kingdom, expresses the opinion that sins committed in speech lead to the existence as a bird or a wild animal (cf. e.g. Mānavadh. 12, 62, ff. ; Viṣṇusmṛti, 44, 14 ff.). At this point the Borobuḍur relief 94 showing garuḍa, birds and nāgas obviously inserts two scenes—or, what is more probable, follows a text exhibiting these--dealing with the rebirth of a being as a garuḍa or a nāga, obviously as an answer to the questions : by which deed is a being reborn as a garuḍa and by which deed as a nāga ? The published Karmavibhaṅga is silent on this point. However, these representatives of the animal kingdom turn up in another part of the Agastyaparva, viz. p. 372. There it is taught that Vinatā, while being Kaśyapa's wife, was always characterized by a pure and honest mind, by being devoted and submissive to her husband, etc. That was why she became the mother of the king of the birds, Garuḍa. The double nature of this bird, which is a god as well as an animal, is explained from the ambiguous character of its mother who was not free from foolish trustfulness. The reason why Kadrū gave birth to the nāgas was, the text continues, that while being Kaśyapa's wife, she turned a deaf ear to good words ; whatever she saw she wished for, she disregarded good advice, she did not miss the opportunity of injuring other people. "Such is, up to now, the character of snakes." The curious śloka quoted p. 372, l. 26 f. has not been found elsewhere :

śrotrendriyasya daurbalyāt cakṣurviṣayam icchati
rasanendriyasāmarthyād mugdhā kadrū dine dine

"by weakness of her sense of hearing Kadrū has a desire to the visible objects ; on account of the sense of taste she is daily foolish". Thus character and inclination are, in this passage, explained from hereditary transmission.

No useful purpose would be served by enumerating the other more or less complicated cases of cause and effect, of deeds and rewards or punishments touched upon by the author of the Agastyaparva. Let it suffice to emphasize that the very existence of this important text and of the other texts dealing with the same topic furnish a clear proof of the special interest roused, in ancient Java, by the Indian doctrines of karman and retributive justice. Though running parallel in many parts the text or texts used, at the end of the 8th or in the beginning of the 9th century, by the architects of Borobuḍur and the Agastyaparva of uncertain date (perhaps ± 1000 A.D. ?) are, as to details, nowhere in entire agreement. They are, moreover, each of them based on Indian sources which while being similar in the main and representing the same view of life differed in particulars. Yet, it is clear that the consensus of opinion with regard to the importance of this aspect of ethics and religion and the similarity of the relevant traditions must have been factors of considerable consequence in the process of fusion and amalgamation of Buddhism and Hinduism which was to take place in the islands of Java and Bali.

NOTES

1. See Notulen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen 1885, p. 156 ; Photographs of these reliefs may be found in N. J. Krom en T. van Erp, Beschrijving van Barabuḍur, (Illustrations), 's-Gravenhage 1920, vol. I, Series O, p. I-XX. For particulars see the same publication, I, p. 36 f. ; 48 ff, (in Dutch).
2. See my Sanskrit in Indonesia, Nagpur 1952, p. 271.
3. See H. Kern, Over de bijschriften op het beeldhouwwerk van Boro-Boedoer, in Verslagen en Mededelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde 3rd series, 12 (Amsterdam 1896), p. 119 ff. and Kern, Verspreide geschriften VII, 's-Gravenhage 1917, p. 147 (in Dutch).
4. See S. Lévi in Verslag van het Zesde Congres van het Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland, April 1929, Leiden 1929, p. 7 f.
5. Mahā-Karmavibhaṅga (la grande classification des actes) et Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa (discussion sur le Mahā Karmavibhaṅga), Textes sanscrits rapportés du Népal, édités et traduits avec les textes parallèles en Sanscrit, en Pâli, en Tibétain, en Chinois et en Koutchéen, Paris 1932.
6. For a Hīnayānist parallel see Majjh. Nik. 135.
7. Three scenes are reproduced in H. Zimmer, The art of Indian Asia, New York 1955, II, plate 479 a, b, c ; cf. also vol. I, p. 302 ff.
8. For a detailed comparison see N. J. Krom, Het Karmavibhaṅga op Borobuḍur (in Dutch), published in Verslagen en Mededelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde 76, B, 8 (Amsterdam 1933).
9. See Lévi, edition, p. 16.
10. For particulars, Krom, Karmavibhaṅga, p. 65 ff.
11. See e.g. L. Feer, L'enfer indien, in Journal asiatique 1892, p. 185 ff. ; 1893, p. 112 ff. ; L. de la Vallée Poussin, Cosmogony and Cosmology (Buddhist) in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics IV (1911), p. 130 f. ; W. Kirfel, Die Kosmographie der Inder, Bonn-Leipzig 1920, p. 199 ff. ; J. Masson, La religion populaire dans le Canon bouddhique pāli, Louvain 1942, p. 89 ff.
12. W. Kern, Oudjavaansche en Balische Hellevoorstellingen, Thesis Leiden 1934 (in Dutch).
13. Edited by H. Kern, in Verhandelingen der Kon. Akademie van Wetenschappen,

Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks III, 3 (Amsterdam 1902 (=H. Kern, Verspreide Geschriften, X, 's-Gravenhage 1922, p. 1 ff.)

14. Edited by S. Beal, A Catena of Buddhist scriptures from the Chinese, London 1871, p. 56 ff.

15. Javanese Ms. Leyden University Library 5344 (H. H. Juynboll, Supplement op den catalogus van de Javaansche...handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits bibliotheek, II, Leiden 1911, p. 177 f.). See p. 23 f.

16. Ms. Leyden Univ. Libr. 867 etc. (Juynboll, Supplement II, p. 270 f.).

17. Ms. Leyden Univ. Libr, 3983 (Juynboll, Suppl. I, Leiden 1907, p. 279).

18. The centre represents the higher unity of the other (complementary) ideas. More common is the quadripartite classification (the centre being the fifth 'part'). according to which Iśvara, Brahmā, Mahādeva, Viṣṇu and Śiva are in a similar way associated with the quarters of the sky, colours, metals, elements, etc.

19. The text of this work was edited by myself, translated, introduced and supplied with a commentary (all in Dutch): Agastyaparva, by J. Gonda, 's-Gravenhage 1933-1936 (published by the Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde in Bijdrangen tot the Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, vol. 90 ; 92 ; 94 and separately in one volume). It is my intention to publish a short article on this work in the periodical 'Purāṇa'.

20. Edited by myself : Het Oud-Javaansche Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, Text, Bandung 1932; Translation (Dutch) Bandung 1933.

21. Edited by J. Kats, Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan, 's-Gravenhage 1910.

22. Edited by J. L. Swellengrebel, Thesis Leiden 1936.

23. Edition, p. 351 (23), l. 10 f. ; 22 f. I did not at the time succeed in finding an Indian parallel to the first śloka ; cf: e.g. Mānavadharmaśāstra 12, 3. The second stanza is however identical with Mānavadh. 12, 9 ; cf. also Yājñavalkyasmṛti 3, 134 ff.; 3, 131 ; Mānavadh. 12, 5 ff.

24. If an English child, at the beginning of this century, complained of a little boil in its mouth, it was often told "you must have told a lie".

H. H. Prince Dhaninivat

ALLEGORIES OF THE MONSOON

in Siamese Literature

The study of the development of Nature-worship in human culture provides striking parallels between far-flung cultural centres. We know, for instance, of old Teutonic mythology in the West centred round the Lord of the Heavens in the person of Wotan or Wodan. We are familiar too with the Greek system of the Heavens over which presided Jupiter and in all cases surrounded by minor deities of fire, water and the thunder etc., whom ancient man felt it imperative to placate for the sake of their wellbeing. We know also of the ancient gods and goddesses of the Aryans of India, of whose worship we may learn from the Ṛgveda, which gives us so many eloquent word-pictures of the phenomena of Nature, such as the hymns to Agni, the god of fire, and to Uṣas, the goddess of the dawn. In the West, these Nature-gods were swept away by Christianity. In India, since the Buddha seemed to have started as a Hindu reformer, the gods were not subjected to such fate but becoming illogical in the Buddha's reasoning were relegated to a less important status, even deprived of their immortality, suffered as it were to remain artistic embellishments in architecture, in literature and in the arts.

Such was the status of Indian divinity when Indian culture reached our shores. It no longer received our worship though it formed a respected institution. The nature gods of the Indian history between the decline of the old mythology and the rise of Buddhism remained in an embellishing capacity. Śiva was the Lord of Heaven, whilst Viṣṇu was the saviour of mankind, but their heaven was no longer an inspiration and the gods existed mostly in literature and the arts.

The purport of this paper is to examine the position still held by Nature and the Hindu pantheon in Siamese literature, because the question arises very often in the minds of modern students of our cultural institutions as to whether Siamese Buddhists profess at the same time the tenets of Hinduism and how far the relativity between the two can be adjusted. At a time not yet determined we received our story of Rāma, the ancient Indian hero, which has been a source of artistic inspiration to all in south-east Asia, no matter what their religious belief may be. The story no doubt was committed to writing at least in the regime of Ayodhyā, though no such document has survived the sack of that capital. With the reconstruction, therefore, of the nation by the founder of the present dynasty, the restoration from memory of the story of Rāma was one of the literary tasks undertaken. The aim of such a huge undertaking, when the author had many other military and administrative demands upon his time, was in all likelihood to preserve the story on account of its popularity.[1]

In this work we find among other points of interest the portrayal of the phenomena of Nature at the time of the monsoon under an allegorical form. The following abstracts of the original poem should serve to give an idea :—

The first episode (pp. 96-100) is a scene among the clouds at springtime. Celestial denizens of the heavens gather to hold high festival in honour of the season of joy by dancing, singing and playing on instruments of music. Among the throng is Manimekhalā, guardian of the seas, who holds in her hand a gem which flashes the lightning. Another celestial described as a demon, 'yaskh', comes also to the festival. He is said to wield an axe, in the fashion of the German Donner, with which he causes the roll of thunder. He is named Rāmasūn, 'Rāma the Asūra' ; and is regarded by all with fear and disdain. Puffed up with the sense of his own prowess and the effectiveness of his axe he goes about quarrelling with all and often gives vent to his rapacity. Noticing on the occasion the blinding flashes of the gem in Mekhalā's hand, he tries to take possession of it by force without avail. Tantalized by playful enticements of the lady, he makes up for his failure in seizing the object of his rapacity by wielding his fearful axe at her. At this point appears another celestial, Orajun, who, emerging from between the clouds, comes in between Mekhalā and her chaser. Rāmasūn at once takes offence and engages Orajun in a fight with the result that he catches hold of the latter's feet and hurls him to death against the mountain top of the World. Thus we have the allegory of the thunder roll preceded by the lightning which causes death or havoc.

The Second episode (pp. 421-430), though not written as an allegory of the monsoon yet carries on another exploit of Rāmasūn with a rather interesting exchange of words between the combatants. The narrative commences with the return home of Prince Rāma who had won the tournament of lifting an ancient bow of Śiva, thereby being awarded Sīdā to be his wife by Janok, King of Mithilā who had brought up the lady as his daughter. On the way to Ayodhyā, he comes up against the celestial demon Rāmasūn. The latter is described here as a dweller of the lower heavens, fierce and powerful like unto heaven's fire, whose name is dreaded, whose disposition is base and jealous, aggressive to all, and generally avoided. Rāmasūn flies down to earth, his axe hinged to the waist and bow-in-hand. As he walks round the forests and streams in enjoyment of nature he becomes aware of the presence of men, horses and chariots, the noise of which rumbles like thunder. He comes up then upon the vanguard of the Ayodhyā army. Posting himself astride the road, he shouts out : "Here, ye of diminutive sizes, who is your leader, whence have ye come and what is the object of your trip in this forest ?" Seeing the gigantic demon thus challeging them, men of the vanguard of Rāma's army gasp in surprise and fear. The bolder among them answer : "Our royal commander is King Tosaroth of Ayodhyā, who is returning to his capital after celebrating the marriage of his son Rāma who, by lifting the ancient bow, won the Princess of Mithilā. Art thou so ignorant as to have to ask this ? Art thou not afraid of Prince Rāma's prowess ? Thou wilt surely be reduced to dust by this insolence." Grinding his teeth in anger the demon says : "Your leader Rāma, said to be so mighty, will today lose his life for Fate is overtaking him." So saying he raises his bow and, bold as a lion-king, runs forward striking right and left, scattering the Ayodhyā soldiers. When he is before Rāma's chariot, he shouts up : "In bringing a woman across my path and usurping upon thyself my name of Rāma thou wilt have to pay for the insolence with death and the woman will be mine." Rāma answers : "Is it thee then who art going to take my wife from me, thou impudent wretch. I am the Nārāyaṇa who has come down to the world as Rāma to rid it of evil demons. Who art thou that dost not know that this insolence is going to cause thee death." Rāmasūn clapping his hands with irritation says : "I am Rāmasūn, the mighty god, who can shake the world. Being a mere mortal as thou art, thou canst never be a god's incarnation as thou boasteth. A firefly like thee canst never rival the Sun. Boast not of thine prowess, for even the mighty Orajun succumbed to these hands of mine. Thou seemst now destined to die." So saying the demon wields his axe ; a storm arises blurring the figure of the demon from view ; and fearful thundering rends the sky. Thereupon Rāma shoots from his bow Palacand, causing the mist to clear up and the demon is revealed to sight. The latter shoots his arrow which turning into a discus merely encircles Rāma's chariot as if paying its respect to him. Rāma shoots from the bow of Agnivāt piercing the demon's discus which is encircling his chariot. Rāmasūn replies with throwing axe, producing torrents of rain, but is destroyed by an arrow from Rāma. The demon now rushes to take hold of the standard-pole of Rāma's chariot. Rāma jumps down from his mount and beats the demon with his bow. The latter feeling great pain suddenly sees the four-armed Viṣṇu in the person of Rāma ; and realising his mistake pleads forgiveness for not realising his opponent's godhead. With a smile, Rāma accepts his apology and admonishes him to adopt better behaviour to all in future. In thankfulness for this liberal forgiveness on the part of his victor, Rāmasūn presents an old bow which Śiva had given to his ancestor Trimegh, which Rāma throws up to the heavens with the request to the god P'irun (Varuṇa) to keep it till he wants it.

The third episode (pp. 2567-2571). Towards the end again of the Rāmakien another episode occurs. The recurrence of the theme with the accompaniment of rain and thunder and the mention of the season at which it is placed in the narrative makes it clear that the allegory of the monsoon is thus given prominence in the story. Book 89 of the first reign version relates that the conclusion of the second campaign against the demon-state of Maliwan in which Prince Phrot deputised for his brother Rāma as generalissimo coincides with the breaking of the south-west monsoon. Some doubt being expressed at headquarters as to the advisability of an immediate return to Ayodhyā on account of the weather, the Prince decides in the affirmative. As the army wends its way homewards, a violent storm breaks out. Rain falls in torrents, havoc is wrought to the hitherto parched countryside; whilst overhead among the clouds Manimekhalā darts about playfully with her dazzling gem at which Parōt, another celestial demon, gives chase to get possession of it. Then Rāmasūn bent on a similar quest hurls his axe at the lady thereby causing rumblings of thunder. The story goes on to say that Prince Parōt shoots an arrow into the heavens "to scatter rain", and thereat the gods Valāhok, Parōt, Rāmasūn and Mekhalā take to flight".

Adjacent cultures do not seem to include this episode in their independent versions. The Cambodian murals around the Chapel Royal of the Crystal Buddha in Pnompenh, however, are an exception, for, according to Dr. Sylvain Lévi,[2] the episode exists there. These murals, nevertheless, were painted after the classical Khmer period of art when the Court of Pnompenh was already inspired by the style of Bangkok, as witness the Royal Palace itself. The real Cambodian or Khmer version of the story of Rāma was very much nearer to the Indian original than any Siamese version as may be seen from the art of the Baphuon in Angkor Thom and tha gallery of Angkor Wat just outside the old town. Moreover the narrative given by Lévi resembles almost word for word the *Rāmakien* of 1798 and even adopts the colloquial pronunciation of names like Vorajun for Orajun usually associated here with an illiterate chorus which distorts so many written names of the Siamese *Rāmakien,* itself not too highly literary and in any case less so than the classical Khmer versions which seem to have been overlooked at the time of the building of the new capital of Phompenh.

Let us now consider the construction of our three episodes. In the first of these we have three principal figures. *Rāmasūn,* from the classical words Rāma-Asūra, has been understood to be taken from the Purāṇic Brāhman Paraśurāma, the sworn foe of the martial race of Kṣatriya who has determined to rid the world of scions of monarchies. He has inherited too the Brahmin's irascibility. Instead, however, of the original Indian version of a priest, he has become in our tradition a demon, or *yakṣa* of gigantic size. His late Majesty King Rāma VI has found out how the mistake occurred. In Sanskrit the character is referred to as *Rāma-nyakṣa,* "Rāma the lowly". Whoever it was that reproduced the story in Siamese did not apparently understand the latter word and in keeping with his irascibility and ferocity turned him into a yakṣa, who after all was one of a race which Viṣṇu was sent down from heaven to exterminate. That Paraśurāma happened to be in many versions one of the reincarnations of Viṣṇu himself escaped attention.

Manimekhalā, often shortened into *Mekhalā*, has probably been taken out of the Jātaka[3], where she is guardian of the seas, although there is a namesake in mediaeval Tamil literature who was a pious lady. This, however, has nothing to do with our story. The other character, god Orajun, who appears earlier in the story as the vanquisher of Tosakanth, has been identified by King Rāma VI as none other than King Kārttikeya of Mahiṣmatī of the Uttarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The identification is supported by the dialogue of defiance where the "god" boasts of his victory over the tenth-necked and twenty-armed Tosakanth.

The second episode has a dialogue of defiance which reminds us of its connection with the *Rāmāyaṇa*, or rather its source for our version was probably inspired by material earlier than the great classic of Vālmikī. The meeting between Rāma and Paraśurāma, here represented as a demon by the name of Rāmasūn, has its counterpart in many other Sanskrit works which drew their inspiration from the Vālmikī classic[4]. Its reference to the phenomena of Nature is less detailed than the other two episodes in our *Rāmakien*. Nevertheless Vālmikī brought Paraśurāma into his story heralded by a terrific storm bursting like a south-west monsoon upon a countryside which had been parched with heat. Chagrined at hearing that royalty was able to bend the ancient bow of Śiva and win his bride in the tournament, he still had with him the bow of Viṣṇu with which he challenged Rāma and developed his quarrel. Rāma accepted the challenge and succeeded in bending it, which led to the duel between them, in which Rāma won. With his chivalry born of royal birth Rāma pardoned the Brāhman, who in thankfulness presented him with the bow of Viṣṇu. The difference between this and the Siamese version is due to the fact that our story was Viṣṇuite as most Siamese versions of ancient Indian lore were.

Natural phenomena at the break of the south-west monsoon are described more fully in the third episode. Rain is here personified as Valāhok (Sk. Valāhaka), a denizen of the heavens ; and a new character is introduced under the name of Parōt performing functions similar to those of the Thunder-demon in the first episode. Rāmasūn is however retained in the scene perhaps by mistake or ignorance of Hindu mythology. On the stage the two are distinguished by the complexion of their masks, Parōt wearing one of purple whilst Rāmasūn's mask is green. Their crowns are also different.

More recently a brochure has been published in Siamese under the name of *Mekhalā and Rāmasūn* from the pen of Sathien Koses and Nāgapradīp[5]. Although the material is mostly beyond our scope it should be noted that the myth has been stated to exist in the XIVth century *Tebhumikathā*[6] of King Litai of Sukhodaya, which is a fact worth knowing. An important suggestion in the brochure is that perhaps Parōt which is etymologically near to Paraśurāma may be the same person and that the Rāmasūn who fought with Rāma in the second episode is not the one who chases Mekhalā in the heavens but corresponds to the Brāhman Paraśurāma. The suggestion is worth consideration. It amounts in fact to this. The Rāmasūn who is an allegory of Nature in the rôle of thunder is one and Rāmasūn who fought with Rāma and has nothing to do with an allegory of Nature but is a figure of Purāṇic myth. As for Parōt he seems more akin to the former.

Whilst inclined to support this differentiation I would prefer not to couple Parōt with the allegory of Nature on account of the so-called etymological similarity for I see no similarity that way. I would rather suggest the Vedic Parjanya and cite the late Professor Arthur Macdonell's book Vedic Mythology[7] to support my argument. On page 83 of the book we find this description of Parjanya :

> "The shedding of rain is his most prominent characteristic. He flies around with his watery car and draws downwards the water-skin. Like a charioteer urging on his horse, he displays his rainy messengers ; when he sheds rain water, the roar of the lion resounds from afar : with thunder he comes shedding rain water as our divine (asura) father. He is besought for rain and is implored to withhold rain after shedding it."

Parjanya's functions overlap those of some other figures in the Veda, for Macdonell goes on thus :

> "...He and Vāta are the wielders of mighty thunder. Parjanya is also associated with lightning, though less frequently than with thunder. The wind blows forth, the lightnings fall when Parjanya quickens the earth with his seed..."

On account, therefore, of the similarity of their functions, one should be justified in identifying Rāmasūn, the allegory of Nature, with the Vedic god Parjanya and the other Rāmasūn, as suggested by His late Majesty King Rāma VI, with the Purāṇic Brāhman Paraśurāma.

One cannot help noticing that, after all, inspite of glaring inaccuracies in telling the story our ancestors in south-east Asia seemed to have been familiar with ancient Indian lore even to the extent of Vedic lore.

NOTES

1. The Rāmakien, version of the first reign, 1798, Teachers Association Edition, in 4 vols Octo 1951. 2976 pages, Noticed in JSS XLI, pt 1, 1953, pp. 63-6.
2. cf. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VII. no. 1,1931.
3. Saṃkha-Jātaka, no 442, and Mahājanaka-Jātaka, no. 539 of the Siamese Series of the Nipāta-Jātaka.

4. cf. Keith : Sanskrit Drama, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924, where references to Paraśurāma in Sanskrit plays are given thus : p 189, 194 Mahāvīracarita, act IV ; p. 228 Anargha-Rāghava act IV : p. 233 Bālarāmāyaṇa act IV ; p 245 Prasanna-Rāghava act IV ; p 271 Hanumān-Nāṭaka act I.

   cf. also Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, tr. L. B, Nāth p. 21 ; and Raghuvaṃśa, Engl. vers. Canto XI, pp. 130-4, Calcutta 1901.
5. Sathien Koses & Nāgapradīp : *Mekhalā and Rāmasūn*, Pračand Press, Bangkok, 1937
6. *Traibhumi Pra Ruang*, R. S. 131 (1912)
7. Macdonell ; *Vedic Mythology*, Verlag von Karl Trübner, Strassburg, 1897.

A. B. Griswold

SOME ICONOGRAPHICAL PECULIARITIES IN SIAM AND BURMA*

On the whole the image-makers in Siam and Burma followed the Buddhist iconography of India faithfully enough ; but now and then they departed from it. The present paper, in which I have tried to determine why they did so, is offered with profound respect to Professor Majumdar, who has done so much to bring precision into the study of Farther India's cultural relationship to India herself.

***Abbreviations :**

AGBG, Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, Paris 1905-1951.

AMD, Dupont, *L'archéologie mône de Dvāravatī*, Paris, 1959.

AS, Griswold, "The Architecture and Sculpture of Siam" in *The Arts of Thailand*, Bloomington, 1960.

ASB, Archaeological Survey of Burma, Report of the Superintendent.

ASI, Archaeological Service of India, Annual Report.

GAP, Ingholt and Lyons, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, New York, 1957.

HIIA, Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927.

1

A religion in which psychological adjustment takes the place of invocations to the supernatural can hardly attach any magical value to iconography. In art, so far as Theravāda Buddhism is concerned, the posture and hand-position should be appropriate to the action depicted ; and though they tend to become standardized, there is no compelling reason why they need always be so. They are seldom required as identifiers of the episode in paintings or bas-reliefs, which normally have enough already—such as the other participants in the action, the bodhi tree, or the wheel accompanied by a pair of gazelles. Sculpture *en ronde bosse*, especially if it lacks the subsidiary indicators, is a different matter : an icon can usually best achieve its psychological effect if its posture and hand-position contain no surprises. Every image of the Buddha, though the sculptural style may vary, is iconographically a copy of a pre-existing one ; the universal practice of copying soon leads to the establishment of a few standard types ; and when an aberrant type occurs, one wonders whether the rule of copying has not been violated. But a moment's reflection will show that that could hardly happen ; a painting or a bas-relief, now lost, may have served as the model for the icon.

We can easily go wrong if we try to apply to the Theravāda the lessons learned from the rich iconography of the Mahāyāna, in which magical considerations and the needs of *bhakti* have led to a more elaborate and more precise vocabulary.

The Sanskrit iconographical terms commonly used by the scholarly world are a great convenience ; and if we surround them with real or imaginary quotation-marks there is no harm in using them to describe an image for which a Pali terminology would theoretically be more appropriate. But if we think of them as having a precise and unvarying sense we may at times find ourselves unjustly accusing an image-maker of misunderstanding the rules of Indian iconography. In fact there was no reason for him to be bound by such rules, provided he could make a comprehensible and satisfactory image otherwise. That proviso is important, for it would keep fancy within the bounds of propriety and exclude any extravagance.

In Siam a hand-position is hardly ever described as a *mudrā* ; together with the posture, it is included under the more general term *pān*, "an episode", meaning, in practice, an episode in the Life of the Buddha. By far the most frequent hand-position in sculpture is the one called *bhūmisparśamudrā* by western scholars, but simply *Māravijaya* by the Siamese.

The Pali texts exert a constant control over the postures, which of course are confined to the four *iryāpatha*, standing and walking, seated and reclining. But hand-positions are a more fugitive matter : and even if the text prescribes this one or that for a given moment, the artist may have in mind the preceding or succeeding moment of the same episode. The Siamese paintings of the late 18th century in the Buddhaiśvarya building at Bangkok, for instance, depict the Victory over Māra not with the Sage performing the earth-calling gesture that is so ubiquitous in sculpture, but rather with both hands in the lap in the pose of meditation, from which the earth-calling gesture was, after all, only a momentary departure.

One deviation from Indian example occurs regularly in the sculpture of Dvāravatī, the old Mòn kingdom that flourished in central Siam from the 6th to the 10th century.

Before discussing it, we should note that the habit of copying often results in associating a certain hand-position with a certain way of wearing the monastic dress ; for the latter, of course, can be worn either in the *covering* mode, draped over both shoulders, or else in the *open* mode, with the right shoulder exposed.

The dominant type of image in Dvāravatī art depicts the Sage standing, with robe in the covering mode, and both hands raised in front of the chest with thumb and forefinger joined—*vitarkamudrā,* as we have fallen into the habit of calling it (fig. 1). The very idea of performing such a gesture with both hands would seem strange in India. The combination is, I think, adapted from a model of the sort that occasionally appears at Ajanta (caves 19 and 26), where the right hand is in *abhayamudrā* and the left, raised to the same level, holds a lappet of the robe, which is worn in the covering mode (fig. 2). Very likely the adaptation took place when a Dvāravatī sculptor was ordered by his patron to copy a small replica, whose origin in far-away India gave it a special sanctity. Its hands, we may guess, were too much damaged for the copyist to discern exactly what they were doing: he could see that they were raised to shoulder-level, while the remnants of the left hand might show that the forefinger was bent: and the most natural way for him to interpret his data would be to suppose that the same was true of the right.[1]

This Ajanta formula, in turn, derives ultimately from a comparatively rare Gandhāran type, with both hands raised, which may occur in several episode— Accepting the Bundle of Grass, Presenting the Serpent to the Fire-Worshippers, and perhaps the Descent from Heaven (GAP figs. 59, 87-89, 116)—though for each of these episodes Gandhāra has other formulas too.

In Siam the standard Dvāravati formula is considered to represent the Descent from Heaven ; but I doubt if that was always true in Dvāravati times.

It was certainly not true in the 12th and 13th centuries in Burma. Pagán, which inherited an iconography developed by another branch of the same Mòn people, adopted a different combination for the Descent from Heaven—the right hand down ("*varamudrā*"), and the upraised left hand holding a lappet of the robe; which is worn in the open mode (fig. 3). This combination derives, at no matter how many removes, from the standard type of the late Gupta cave-temples (fig. 4).

Though the standard Dvāravatī formula was not used at Pagán for the Descent from Heaven, something very much like it (perhaps with the hand turned a little differently) was used there for several other episodes, including the Approach to the Bodhi-Tree (fig. 5) and the Ascent into Heaven. In the latter we are geographically —if I may use the expression—close to the Descent from Heaven ; and a painting in the Se Pya shrine shows how Pagán distinguished between the two episodes (fig. 6). At our right the Buddha, wearing his robe in the covering mode and holding both hands upward in the "*vitarka*" pose, has reached the fourth tier of Mount Meru ; in the centre he has reached the summit and sits on Indra's throne ; and at our left, having rearranged his robe into the open mode, he descends the miraculous stairway, with his right hand down and his left hand upward.

To return to Siam, Sukhodaya in the 14th century signified the Descent from Heaven (fig. 7) by an arrangement of robe and hand that recalls figs. 3 and the Descent in fig. 6, though it was perhaps not so likely derived from Pagán as from a kindred source. The position of the hands is the same, but their function is different : the upraised left hand (as we know from other examples in which it is still intact) performs a gesture ("*vitarka*" or "*abhaya*"), while the right arm swings at the side.[2]

Nevertheless in the mid-19th century, when the King of Siam invited the Prince Patriarch to purify the iconography of Buddha images, which was by that time considered rather too eclectic, the Dvāravatī formula was chosen to represent the Descent from Heaven ; but painters continued to exercise their old freedom, and usually preferred a formula like that of Sukhodaya.

I do not wish to suggest that the iconography of Buddha images in Siam and Burma is chaotic, or ever has been. To modern eyes, indeed, it may seem standardized to the point of monotony ; but there are some notable departures from the Indian rules. I have already touched on some of the more common ones : and in the next two sections I shall discuss some very unusual examples.

2.

The theme of the reclining Buddha generally signifies the *parinibbāna* ; and as everyone knows, he was reclining on his right side when he left the world forever. "Spread over for me, I pray you, Ānanda, the couch with its head to the north," Rhys Davids translates his words from the Mahāparinibbānasuttanta. And Ānanda "spread a covering over the couch with its head to the north, between the twin Sāla trees. And the Exalted One laid himself down on his right side, with one leg resting on the other ; and he was mindful and self-possessed."[1]

In depicting the *parinibbāna,* art in Siam has invariably followed Indian example, and respected the textul specification. It is therefore not a little surprising to find one of the most charming relics of Dvāravatī art apparently depicting the Buddha lying on his *left* side (fig. 6-A). This is a stucco fragment. in the collection of Prince Chalŏmbal Yugala, which is said to have been recovered from the ruined monument known as Wăt Pră Ngâm (the "monastery of beautiful holy images") at Nagara Paṭhama, thirty miles west of Bangkok.[2]

Even more surprising than the posture is the fact that the monastic robe covers the *right* shoulder and leaves the left bare, which is an absolutely unheard-of arrangement.

We might be inclined to ascribe both these eccentricities to ignorance or carelessness, but a glance at the modelling (e.g. figs. 8-B and C) shows that the artist was a man of talent, engaged in a serious work. It would therefore seem to be the better part of prudence, unless we can prove otherwise, to give him credit for knowing what he was doing.

Most of the Dvāravatī stuccoes that have been recovered from the various ruins appear to be fragments of narrative reliefs from the bases of *cetiyas.* Not a single one of these reliefs survives intact, or even in anything approaching a coherent form ; when the walls that bore them fell down they were destroyed. But a large quantity of fragments, chiefly heads, have been preserved.[3] The heads were modelled separately, with or without the use of moulds, over an armature of terra cotta, and fixed on to the wall only after they were finished, while the bodies were more often modelled in the wet plaster *in situ*, which would account for their greater fragility. But sometimes they were made in the same way as the heads.[4]

Such is the case with Prince Chalömbal's fragment. It is broken into three pieces—head, torso, and legs—corresponding to the three pieces of terra cotta that compose the armature (figs. 8-C, 8-D, 8-E). The back, which is flat, shows evidence of breakage where it was attached to the wall, and allows the armature to be partly seen.

In the absence of any stucco reliefs to refer to, it is only by comparison with their counterparts in stone that the significance of the fragments can be determined. Two such stone reliefs are pertinent: one in the National Museum at Bangkok (fig. 9), the other in the Sudarśana Monastery in the same city (fig. 10). The first is rather badly eroded, and the second has been covered with a thick layer of gilding in modern times, so that a comparison of the details may not be conclusive; but the main features of the iconography are beyond dispute.

Both depict the Grand Magical Display at Sāvatthi. In both the Buddha sits on a throne under the miraculous mango-tree; and above its branches, symmetrically floating in the sky, are the magically-created apparitions of himself in the four *iryāpatha*, standing and walking, seated and reclining.[5] The symmetrical arrangement requires that the reclining figures should point in opposite directions, and consequently if they are both to face the spectator one of them must lie on its left side.

Evidently Prince Chalömbal's fragment belonged to a similar relief in stucco, although the figures that recline on their left sides in the stone reliefs lack the surprising arrangement of the monastic robe. The stucco is a "mirror image" of a normal reclining Buddha, as we can see from the print made with the negative reversed (fig. 8-F). The latter, I think, must give a good idea of its mate, which is now lost.

Symmetry is a natural tendency in religious sculpture; and it is peculiarly appropriate to the memory of a vision. The arrangement of the robe, which is so startling at first sight, serves to emphasize its unreality. The sculptor is vindicated of the charge of ignorance. He was not depicting the Buddha entering *parinibbāna*, in fact he was not depicting the Buddha at all, but merely a magical apparition.[6]

A similar peculiarity occurs now and then in Mòn art in Lower Burma. I am indebted to Mr. Gordon H. Luce of Rangoon for photographs of two examples, and wish to thank the Burma Archaeological survey for allowing me to publish them.[7] Both come from Pegu, and both are fragments of terra cotta votive tablets, which I suppose were miniature copies of large stone reliefs, now lost, that depicted the Grand Magical Display.

One of them (fig. 11) can be explained in just the same terms as figs. 9 and 10, on the basis of symmetrically-arranged apparitions.

For the other (fig. 12) no such explanation will suffice, as there is only a single reclining figure. Perhaps the tablet was copied from a damaged relief of the Magical Display, in which the side containing the normally-reclining figure was lacking. Or perhaps the mould from which it was stamped was copied from a relief with only a single reclining figure, lying in the normal way, but the mould-maker, having to choose between a reversed mould and a series of reversed tablets, thought the latter less objectionable, though of course most mould-makers thought otherwise. These are mere conjectures, but they seem more plausible than the supposition that the mould-maker simply made a mistake.

At the Mahābodhi shrine in Pagán there are two large Buddha images reclining on their left side. Fig. 13 shows the context of one of them, but the image—which is whitewashed like the rest of the monument—can scarcely be discerned in the photograph. The main pyramid is honeycombed with niches containing a miscellany of seated and standing Buddhas. The distribution has no logic or consistency, and even the sizes do not fit very well ; evidently most of the images were at some time or other removed from their original positions, and later put back in the wrong order. An ample doorway in the centre of the east face leads into the interior ; and in the equivalent position on the other three faces there is a large rectangular niche containing a reclining Buddha image (the niche at the south can be seen in fig. 13). Presumably all three of these figures were made at the same time ; if not by the same sculptor, at least by a group of sculptors working together. Yet while the images at the north and south lie on their left side, that at the west reclines normally. It is hard to believe the sculptors could have made a mistake in two cases but not in the third. The difference must be intentional ; but the reason for it is not very obvious. Perhaps all three are copies of figures in some well-known relief, now lost, that represented the Grand Magical Display.[8]

3

The National Museum at Bangkok possesses a curious bronze statuette of the Buddha seated in *vajrāsana*, the right hand lying in the lap, and the left hand resting on the left knee (figs. 14-A, B, C). There is something about the alloy in Dvāravatī bronzes that causes them, if buried for a long time, to take on a thick and crusty patination, which in this case has penetrated unusually deep. While the execution is less suave than in the stucco fragment, it is not without elegance, and compares favourably with the generality of Dvāravatī bronzes especially when we make allowance for the corrosion and the bad cracks in head and arms.[1] The statuette is of unknown provenance, having been purchased many years ago from the estate of a prince who owned the most famous collection in Bangkok in the 19th century.

What is the significance of this unexpected hand-position? Some scholars might think it was simply a mistake for the ordinary earth-calling gesture; but I can hardly believe that a sculptor of even moderate skill would be unable to distinguish between the right and left hand, especially since examples of that gesture, executed in the ordinary way with the right hand, must have been familiar to him[2]

We can, if we wish, extend one step further the sort of explanation we used for the stucco fragment, although this time the robe is correctly represented in the open mode. I could easily believe there once existed some Dvāravatı stone reliefs of the Grand Magical Display, now vanished, in which one of a pair of seated apparitions performed the earth-calling gesture with the right hand and its mate with the left; just as in fig. 10 one of the seated apparitions raises the right hand while its mate raises the left. We might take the bronze to be a copy of such an apparition.

This explanation is worth holding in reserve while we carry our investigation to Prome, in Burma, the seat of the Pyu kingdom of Śrīkṣetra which was partly contemporary with Dvāravatī.

On a votive tablet from Pada-galé Hill near Prome (fig. 15) the Sage sits similarly on a lotus pedestal, with his hands in almost exactly the same position as our statuette.[3] The figure is framed in some sketchy architecture, suggesting a sort of niche, with a couple of branches of a bodhi tree behind, a parasol above, and a pair of worshippers below. This combination shows that the tablet does not depict the Buddha directly, but rather some particular shrine, either in India or in Burma, that contained a statue of the Buddha; just as a magical apparition intervened between the person of the Sage and the reclining figures in the Dvāravatī reliefs, a piece of sculpture in a shrine intervenes between it and the votive tablet. The tree-branches, whether thought of as real or painted on the wall behind the statue, show that the shrine itself commemorated the Enlightenment; and there can be little doubt that the statue it contained really had the right hand, and not the left, in the earth-calling position. As in fig. 12, the reversal in the votive tablet might be attributed to the mould-maker's unwillingness to make a reversed mould.

Yet perhaps that is not the whole story. The left-handed gesture appears in another context, this time in combination with a raised right hand (now broken off), in a stone relief from the Bawbawgyi pagoda (fig. 16). Here it represents the First Sermon, as is proved by the *dhammacakka* flanked by gazelles in the predella[4]

We are immediately reminded of one of those Gandhāran examples of experimental iconography in which the right hand is raised, while the left holds a lappet of the robe in downward-pointing fingers (fig, 17). The scene is unmistakable: Māra stands arrogantly with one of his daughters at the Sage's left, while his other two daughters stand at the opposite side. The Sage's raised right hand clearly does not signify dispelling fear, which would be inappropriate to the scene ; while the position of the left hand certainly suggests, if it does not signify, calling the earth to witness.

As the late Professor Foucher often reminds us, the Gandhāran iconography was still relatively fluid. A single gesture might have several different meanings, while a single meaning might be expressed by different gestures in different versions of the same episode. Another peculiarity to which he alludes is especially pertinent : in one case where the Buddha is seen preaching to the gods, his left hand has a double function, holding a lappet and at the same time performing a kind of rudimentary *vitarkamudrā* with thumb and forefinger joined[5]. We can therefore easily believe that the left hand in fig. 17 performs a rudimentary *bhūmisparśamudrā*.

But what has fig. 17 to do with fig. 16, the subject of which is so different ? Another Gandhāran relief (fig. 18) links them in a rather curious way : it is the counterpart, in reverse, of both of them ; it depicts the First Sermon ; and while the upraised position of the Buddha's left hand, which holds the lappet, may or may not be significant, the position of the right, pointing downward, has a perfectly clear meaning : the fingers are touching, not the earth, but the rim of the *dhammacakka*—a far more practical means, we may agree, of setting a wheel in motion than the "*dharmacakramudrā*" which in most schools is the conventional formula for the First Sermon.

It appears, then, that in the rather fluid iconography of Gandhāra a downward-pointing right hand could signify either the Victory over Māra or the First Sermon ; and if a downward-pointing left hand could signify the Victory over Māra, there seems no good reason why it could not signify the First Sermon as well. It occurs in other episodes too, such as the Acceptation of the Four Bowls (GAP figs. 98, 189). In all these cases it is accompanied by the upraised right hand.[6]

At Śrīkṣetra, in the examples we have noticed, the downward-pointing left hand stands for two different episodes : the First Sermon when the right hand is raised (fig. 16) ; the Victory over Māra when the right hand is in the lap (fig. 15). If that was really the rule among the Pyu, another example from Śrīkṣetra (fig. 19) would also have to be interpreted as the Victory over Māra ; but if there was a bodhi tree, it has been obliterated ; and the presence of the two monks would be odd in such a context. Despite the different position of the right hand, we might relate this relief to fig. 16, and take it to represent the First Sermon with the *dhammacakka* omitted. The two monks, however, may remind us less of the listeners in the Deer Park than of Sāriputta and Moggallāna, who in turn suggest the Grand Magical Display. Yet most likely they are not really thought of as being in the presence of the Buddha himself, but in the presence of a statue of the Buddha ; they are worshippers, not identifiers.

Three specimens of a votive tablet from Śrīkṣetra depict the same hand-position, but with an object of some sort, doubtless an almsbowl, in the right hand (fig. 20). We may be vaguely reminded of Gandhāra, where the down-pointing left hand can occur in the Acceptation of the Four Bowls (GAP fig. 69). but there the right hand is up and holds no bowl. When Gandhāra shows us the seated Buddha holding a bowl, as in the Monkey's Offering (GAP fig. 115), it is in the left hand, not the right. Nevertheless I am inclined to think that fig. 20 is intended to signify the most popular episode with which a bowl was associated, namely the Monkey's Offering.[7] Very likely this tablet is a stripped-down copy of some image, now vanished, which had a monkey in the predella.

I doubt if there was any such rule at Śrikṣetra regarding hand-position as figs. 15 and 16 might suggest; and even if there was, it would certainly be unwise to apply it to the Dvāravatī bronze (fig. 14). We can be reasonably sure, however, that the bronze represents either the Victory over Māra or the First Sermon, unless perhaps it is a copy of one of the apparitional figures in a depiction of the Grand Magical Display.

On the whole, the most likely explanation is that it represented the Victory over Māra; and what now seems to us an ambiguous gesture was clarified by a *mise-en-scène*, now lost: it is not unusual in Siam for a statuette to occupy a miniature shrine made for the purpose but not necessarily attached to it, from whose apex the branches of a bodhi tree emerge.

In discussing fig. 16, we noticed that the vanished right hand was held upward, and compared it with the raised right hand at Gandhāra. But it was held at a different angle, as we can see from the break on the chest where it was attached and we can guess that it performed a different gesture. The angle was certainly the same as in a much later relief in the Ananda temple at Pagán (fig. 21), and the gesture may have been too.

In fig. 21 the right hand performs one-half of the double gesture commonly called *dharmacakramudrā*, while the left hand points downward. The lotus cushion on which the Sage sits grows from a stalk in the predella, which is flanked by four persons who are probably inhabitants of the *nāga* world. The arrangement of the predella, combined with the gesture of the Buddha's right hand, reminds us of those Gandhāran scenes of the Grand Magical Display (such as GAP fig. 225) in which the miraculous flower stem is flanked by the two *nāga* kings and their queens, all four in reverential attitudes.[8] In any event the lotus stalk proves that the Ananda relief represents the Magical Display. But what of the downward-pointing left hand? As Professor Foucher long ago noted, the iconographies of the First Sermon and of the Magical Display are more or less interchangeable.[9] Having already seen the down-pointing left hand combined with the right hand raised at an oblique angle at Śrikṣetra to signify the First Sermon (fig. 16), we need not be surprised to see the same combination at Pagán signifying the Magical Display.

Whatever it may signify, the combination of right hand in lap and left hand resting on the knee and pointing downward reappears now and then in the art of Siam. None of these instances, so far as I am aware, have been published. One is a small terra cotta Buddha of Dvāravatī style from Nagara Paṭhama, now in the National Museum at Bangkok. Another is a large image carved in relief on a stone stela in the Lampûn Museum, a relic of the Mòn art of Haripuñjaya (8th-13th century) which was a northern offshoot of Dvāravatī. In these two cases the robe is arranged in the normal open mode. In a third case, however, it is arranged in the same impossible mode as fig. 14. This is a small rock-crystal figurine recently excavated from a ruined stupa in the district of Hòt, Chieng Mai province, and since brought to the Bangkok Museum. It is attributable to the art of Chieng Mai, and—to judge from the objects with which it was found in association—dates from the 17th or 18th century. Here again we have an example, if not of Mòn workmanship, at least of copying a Mòn model : the art of Chieng Mai must have originated in the Mòn art of Haripuñjaya ; besides, Chieng Mai was under the domination of the Burmese and Mòn from the mid-16th to the early 18th century. We are entitled, I think, to conclude that the Mòn country possessed a certain number of famous images having this peculiar hand-position, some with the robe normally arranged and some abnormally, and that they were popular enough with the Mòn people to inspire copies.

Should we postulate a similar origin for the several examples that appear in 19th-century painting at Dhanapurī and Bangkok ? It is not impossible : the Mòn monkhood was held in high esteem by some of the most thoughtful and devout Buddhists in the Siamese capital, including the future King Rāma IV, and many of its practices were adopted by the Dhammayutta sect which he founded. Be that as it may, the paintings leave us in no doubt that the hand-position was intentional and at the same time susceptible of more than one meaning, for in a single series of exquisitely rendered scenes it may occur in as many as three different episodes.

Perhaps the oddest thing about fig. 27 is that the Buddha has no *uṣṇīṣa.* The same is true of six other Buddha images in the Ananda shrine that have more or less the same hand-position.[10] The lack of *uṣṇīṣa* is cleary original, as there is no sign of breakage and the curls are intact. It stands to reason, I think, that all these works are copies of the same model, probably a famous statue that has now vanished. But it is hard to say why that model lacked an *uṣṇīṣa* ; if it had simply been broken off, we should expect our artists to repair so obvious a damage when they made the copies. All these images date from the earlier part of the Pagán period, when Mòn art was still dominant.

In Siam, however, all the examples I have seen of a similar position of the left hand, whether or not they were made by Mòn artists, are furnished with the usual *uṣṇīṣa*. The *uṣṇīṣa*, indeed, is lacking in certain Siamese images of other types, particularly images cast by command of king Rāma IV. Now it is well known that the reason for the omission was that prince's insistence on rationalism in religion, his profound respect for the Buddha as a human being, and his scorn for the supernatural. These were the qualities that dominated his long years in the monkhood before ascending the throne, his religious reforms, and his artistic preferences after becoming king. But may not the more human aspect of the Buddha without *uṣṇīṣa* have been suggested to him by some unusual Mòn image he had seen while organizing the reform sect in imitation of the Mòn brotherhood? The question leads to another : he was neither the first nor the last adherent of the Theravāda to insist on rationalism, and we may wonder whether even in the age of miracles at Pagán there was not at least a small group of Mòn monks who took a similar view, and signified it by a preference for images without the *uṣṇīṣa*.

Let us recapitulate. In four of the eight Great Events, sculpture and painting of course always portray the Buddha seated. These are the Victory over Māra, the First Sermon, the Magical Display, and the Monkey's Offering. For each there is an unambiguous standard formula ; but alternatively a non-standard hand-position can occur in all four, more or less interchangeably. When this happens in sculpture, we may be unable to determine which of the four was intended. But the public for whom such a work was designed would be in no such doubt, as there was always something about it to recall a revered model whose meaning was known to everyone.

4

According to legend the famous "Emerald" Buddha, now in the Chapel Royal at Bangkok, was made in heaven by Viśvakarman at the behest of the Venerable Nāgasena, the interlocutor of King Milinda ; and later, after a long sojourn in Ceylon, was brought to Siam.[1]

Though the statue itself appears to have been made in northern Siam around the 15th century, there is no difficulty in believing it to be a copy of an older image, which was in turn a copy of a still older one, and so on back to an imported original which tradition associated not only with Ceylon, but also with the Yavanas, and hence with Gandhāra.

As I have remarked elsewhere, "iconography travels from one place to another when an image makes the trip and inspires a copy ; and it leaps from the past to the present when an ancient image is exhumed and copied. Style is less adventurous, travelling for the most part only when artists travel.[2] In this paper we are not concerned with style : it is of no consequence that the examples of aberrant iconography in Siam and Burma do not *look* in the least like the Gandhāran pieces with which I have compared them.

It is entirely possible that a few pieces of Gandhāran sculpture, perhaps already centuries old, found their way to Southeast Asia, as others found their way to China; though the chances of discovering such rarities in the old cities of Siam and Burma are slight.

In speculating on the survivals of Gandhāran iconography there, we must distinguish between two sorts. One sort is ordinarily regardad as "correct", since it became the common property of the Buddhist world. If any Gandhāran examples of it were imported into Siam and Burma, their influence was reinforced, and at the same time submerged, by that of the more numerous imports from India proper and Ceylon.

As for the "unorthodox" sort, we have seen some of it reappearing in Southeast Asia. We should not exclude the possibility that it was transmitted by aberrant works of other Indian schools, though it would be difficult to find examples. It is easier to believe that formulas which India generally rejected were transmitted by the importation of Gandhāran examples: a single example of each might have sufficed to engender descendants in Siam and Burma.

The art of these countries, being chiefly dedicated to the Theravāda, escaped the pressures that in India crystallized the iconography and gave it a more precise meaning. Because the maker of Buddha images was always a copyist, the iconography of posture and hand-position in Southeast Asia also tended to crystallize, but in a rather different way. It quickly settled down into a very small number of standard formulas, most of which were copied faithfully enough from India, though a few—such as the Dvāravatī standing figures with both hands upward, thumb and forefinger joined—were somewhat modified in the process. These formulas were repeated endlessly, and almost, but not quite, to the exclusion of others.

The exceptions, no less than the standard formulas, are copies of older models. Some, like the Buddha reclining on his left side, seem to be copies of figures from narrative reliefs; others, like the seated Buddha with his hands in unexpected positions, seem to be copies—at many removes—of Gandhāran imports. In proportion to the total number of images the number of exceptional cases is absolutely negligible; but they are useful in calling attention to certain facts that are often overlooked.

In the Theravāda the purpose of iconography is not magical, but designatory; it serves to identify the episode. If other indicators are present—or remembered as having been present, as in the case of copies of some locally famous statue—the usual formulas can be changed. A Buddha image is primarily a Reminder of the Doctrine; and it reminds by recalling one or another moment of the Buddha's career.

Illustrations

1. Standing Buddha ; bronze ; height 29 cm. ; Dvāravatī style. National Museum, Bangkok.
2. Standing Buddha ; stone. Cave 26, Ajanta.
3. The Descent from Heaven ; stone. Pagán. (Photograph by Jean Lavaud.)
4. Standing Buddha ; stone. Kaṇherī.
5. The approach to the Bodhi Tree : stone, partly gilded. Ananda Temple, Pagán. (Photograph by Jean Lavaud.)
6. Mural painting in the Se Pya chapel, Somingyi Monastery, Pagán. (Photograph by Jean Lavaud.)
7. The Descent from Heaven ; polychromed stucco ; ht. about 4 m. Monastery of the Coral-tree Pond, Sukhodaya.

8-A. Reclining Buddha ; stucco ; length 55 cm. , Dvāravatī style. Collection of H.R.H. Prince Chalömbal Yugala, Bangkok.

8-B. 8-C, 8-D, 8-E. Details of 8-A.

8-F. Fig. 8-A printed with negative reversed.

9. The Grand Magical Display ; stone relief ; Dvāravatī style. National Museum, Bangkok.
10. The Grand Magical Display, and (above) the Buddha Preaching to the Gods ; gilded stone relief ; ht. 2.40 m. ; Dvāravatī style. Sudarśana Monastery, Bangkok.
11. Fragment of a votive tablet ; terra cotta ; ht. about 8 cm. ; from Pegu. Archaeological Office, Mandalay. (Photograph by the kindness of Mr. Gordon H. Luce and the Burma Archaeological survey.)
12. Fragment of a votive tablet : terra cotta ; ht. about 8 cm. ; from Pegu. Archaeological Office, Mandalay. (Photograph by the kindness of Mr. Gordon H. Luce and the Burma Archaeological Survey.)
13. Mahābodhi Temple, Pagán. (View from the south.)

14-A. Seated Buddha ; bronze ; ht. 15 cm. ; Dvāravatī style. National Museum, Bangkok.

14-B. Profile of fig. 14-A.

14-C. Rear view of fig. 14-A.

15. Votive tablet ; terra cotta ; ht. about 26 cm. ; from Pada-galé Hill, Śrīkṣetra. (Photograph by the kindness of Mr. Gordon H. Luce and the Burma Archaeological Survey. Ref. : *ASB* 1926, pl. IV/3 and pp. 23-24 : *ASI* 1926, pl. LV/b and pp. 120-121.)
16. The First Sermon ; stone ; ht. about 80 cm. ; from the Bawbawgyi pagoda, Śrikṣetra. (Photograph by the kindness of Mr. Gordon H. Luce and the Burma Archaeological Survey).
17. The Temptation by Māra and his Daughters ; stone ; ht. 19 cm.

Peshawar Museum. (Photograph by Islay Decourcy Lyons ; reprinted, by kind permission, from Lyons and Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan.*)

18. The First Sermon ; stone ; ht. 18 cm. Breezewood Collection, Monkton, Maryland.
19. The Buddha and two monks ; monolithic stela : ht. about 1.50 m. Bèbè Chapel, Śrikṣetra. (Photograph by the kindness of Mr. Gordon H. Luce and the Burma Archaeological Survey. Ref. : *ASI* 1910, pp. 120-121 and fig. 3 : de Beylié, *Prome et Samara* pp. 97-98 and pl. VII/1.)
20. Votive tablet (3 incomplete specimens) ; terra cotta ; ht. 7 cm. ; from the Bawbawgyi Pagoda, Śrīkṣetra. (Photograph by the kindness of Mr Gordon H. Luce and the Burma Archaeological Service.)
21. The Grand Magical Display ; stone, partly gilded. Ananda Temple, Pagán.

NOTES

1

1. See *AS* p. 44.
2. Less frequently the right hand is up, and the left down. This is the same combination as Gandhāra uses for a great many different episodes, including the Descent from Heaven (*AGBG* figs. 264, 265) ; but the robe is differently arranged.

2

1. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, part II, London, 1910, p. 149.
2. We should probably not be far wrong in attributing this piece to the 7th or 8th century. The site of Wăt Pră Ngâm is briefly referred to in *AMD* p. 20.
3. See *AMD* pp. 46, 50-53, 75-77, and numerous illustrations ; *AS* p. 47 and figs. 26, 28. For other illustrations of Dvāravatī stuccoes see R. S. leMay, *A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam*, Cambridge, 1938, fig. 30 ; and his *Culture of South-East Asia*, London, 1954, frontispiece. For a similar head made of terra cotta, see *AS* fig 25.
4. See, for example, Griswold, *loc. cit*, fig. 30.
5. It will be noticed that these reliefs combine the mango-tree of the Pali texts with the reduplicated apparitions of the Sanskrit Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins.
6. In the Aṅguttaranikāya (i. 114) the monks are instructed to lie on the right side when sleeping. The posture of lying on the left side would be singularly inappropriate for the Sage of the Śākyas in any circumstances ; but its use as a mirror-image would serve as an ironical comment, so to speak, on the illusion in the Magical Display.

7. I must also thank Mr Luce and the Burma Archaeological Survey for several other photograps in this article (figs. 15, 16, 19-21).
8. The normally-reclining figure on the west of course has the head to the north, just as it should be ; and if the two abnormal figures were on the *east* face of the monument we might guess that they too had to have their heads to the north, as it would not do for their backs to be presented to the spectator. It is tempting to think that they were indeed originally on the east face, since so many of the other images have been re-arranged ; but the east face, at least as it is now constituted, has no niches of the right size and shape to accommodate them.

3

1. This piecc may be dated c. 7th-8th century.
2. The usual earth-calling gesture, indeed, is much rarer in Dvāravatī art than in the later schools, but by no means unknown.
3. The left hand is nearer the knee, but I doubt if that has any special significance. The leg-position, incidentally, is different, *vīrāsana* instead of *vajrāsana*. The robe appears to be worn in the covering mode.
4. There are also four worshippers in the predella—a pair of monks and a pair of Brahmin ascetics. The *pañcavaggiya*, to whom the First Sermon was addressed, were not easy to convince, but finally conceded, one by one, to the Buddha's reasoning. The monks in the predella are two who have already been converted ; the ascetics are two who have not yet been. As usual in Burma, the fifth is lacking, probably because of the difficulty of fitting him into a symmetrical scheme. The standing figures at either side of the Buddha are gods who came to listen in.
5. *AGBG* p. 486 and fig. 243 ; also illustrated at *GAP* fig. 104.
6. A somewhat similar combination, the right hand lifted and the left resting on the knee, though not exactly pointing downward, occurs frequently at Mathurā, sometimes with a bodhi-tree to verify its meaning ; see for example the Mathurā Museum's well-known seated Buddha from Katrā (*HIIA* fig. 84).
7. In Siam and Burma it is more common, but of course not obligatory, for the Buddha to be seated in the "European" manner at this episode.
8. What looks like *nāga* hoods in the Ananda relief may really be nothing more than elaborate human coiffures ; but that is no obstacle to our comparison with Gandhāran scenes of the Magical Display, many of which have human worshippers in the predella instead of *nāgas*. Nor is the fact that the robe in *GAP* fig. 255 is in the open mode, whereas in the Ananda relief it is in the covering mode : the latter arrangement in Gandhāran scenes of the Magical Display, though rare, is not unknown (c.g. *GAP* fig. 256). When there are *nāgas* in the predella, whether at Gandhāra or in Burma, the lotus stalk is usually, but not always, upheld by one or both *nāga* kings.

9. Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, Paris and London, 1917, p. 169 note 1.
10. Information supplied by Colonel Ba Shin of the Burma Historical Commission. All seven images are carved in relief on stone stelas, and are in niches in the inner wall of the outer corridor of the Ananda temple. Colonel Ba Shin adds that the Buddha is also depicted without *uṣṇīṣa*, and with a similar hand-position, in a painting in the top row of the southwest corner of the south wall of the central mass of the Nagayôn temple, which also dates from the Mòn period of Pagán art.

4

1. For the legend, which was put in writing in the early 16th century, but must be much older, see Mr. Coedès's *Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental*, Bulletin de l' École Française d'Extrême-Orient, XXV. p. 112.
2. *AS* p. 39.

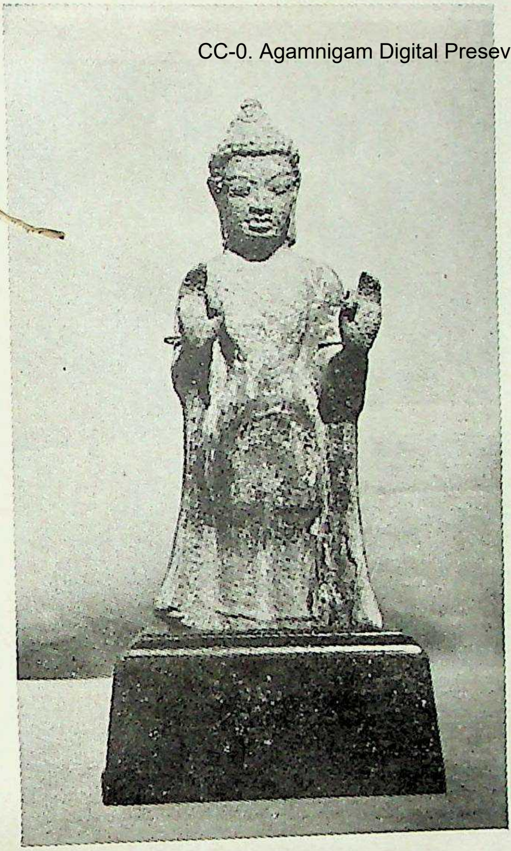


FIG. 1

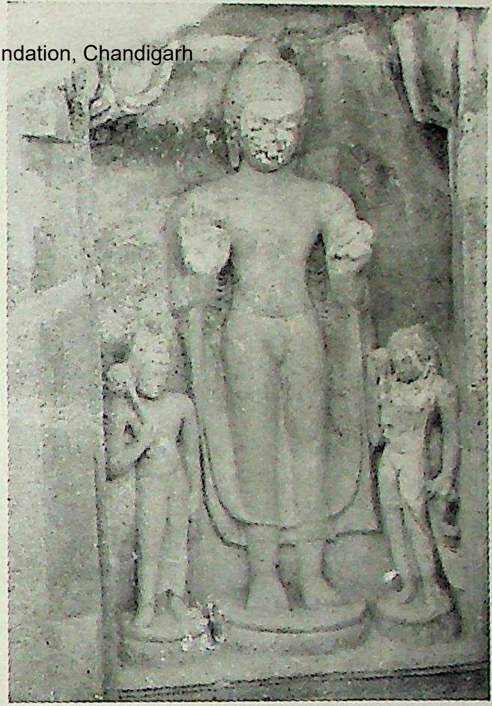


FIG. 2

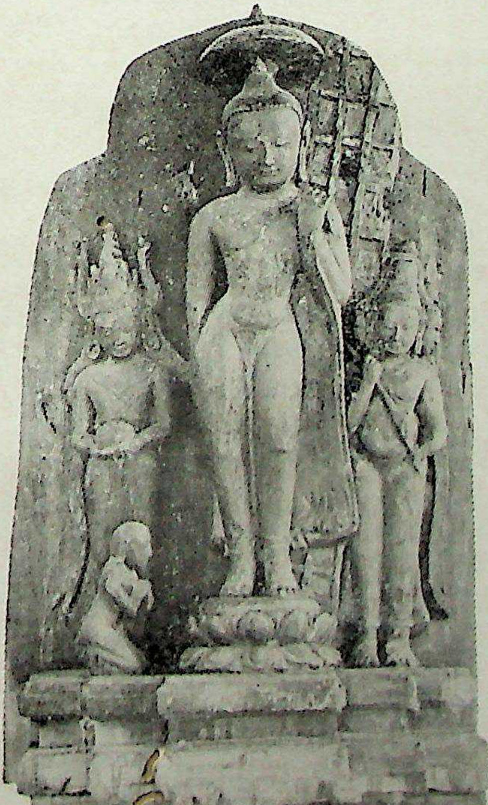


FIG. 3

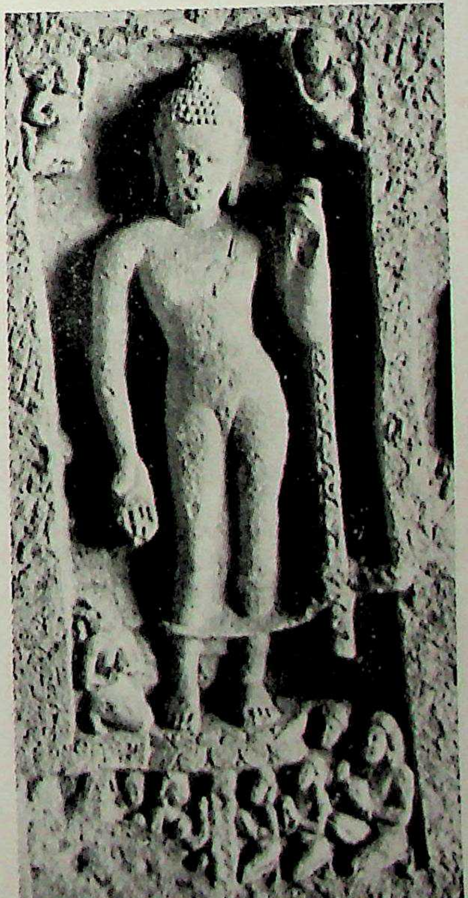
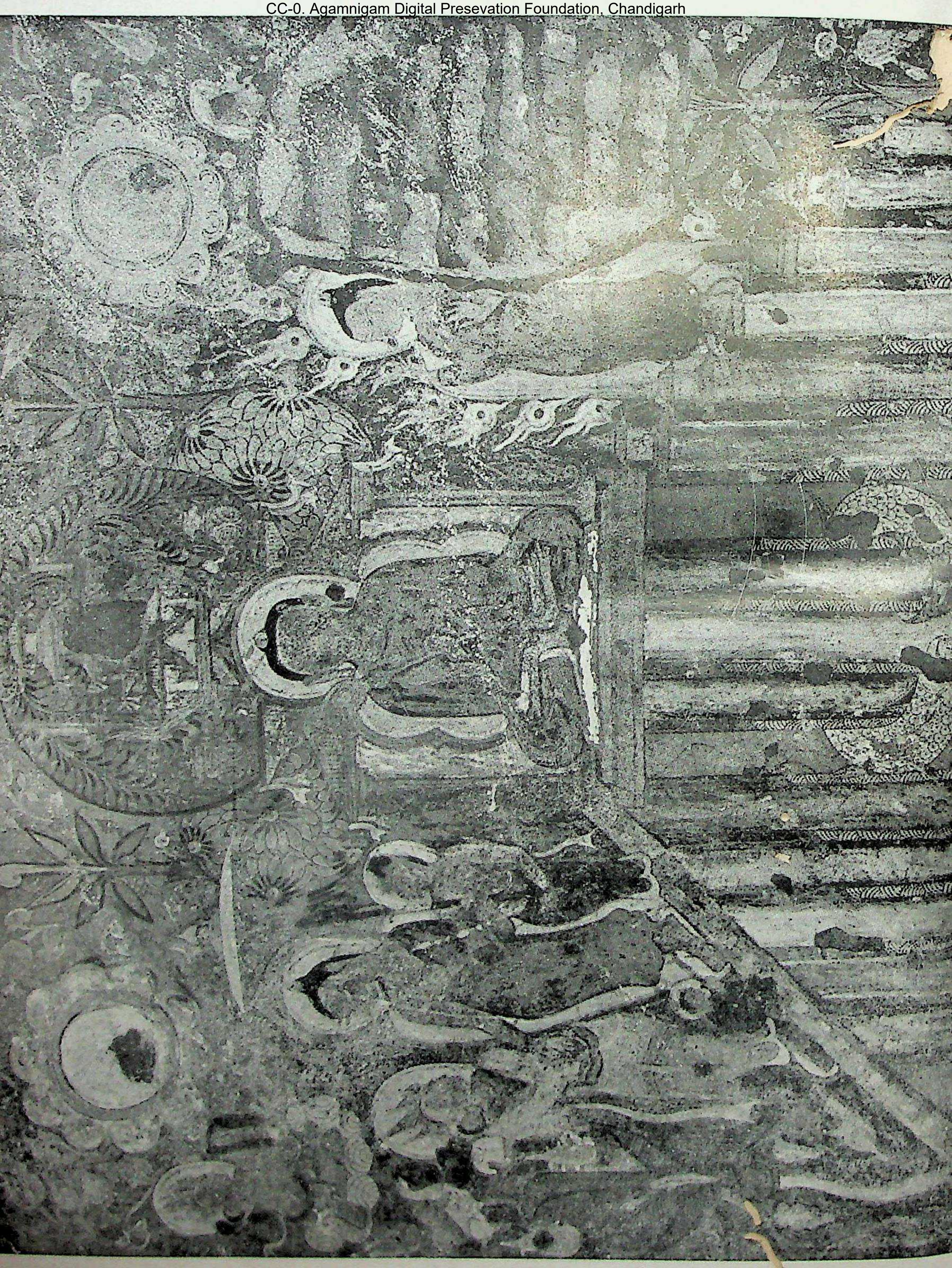


FIG. 4

FIG. 6



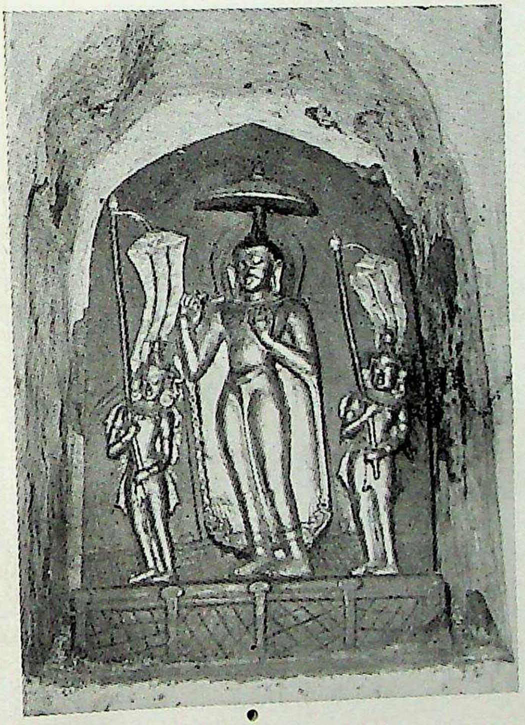


FIG. 5

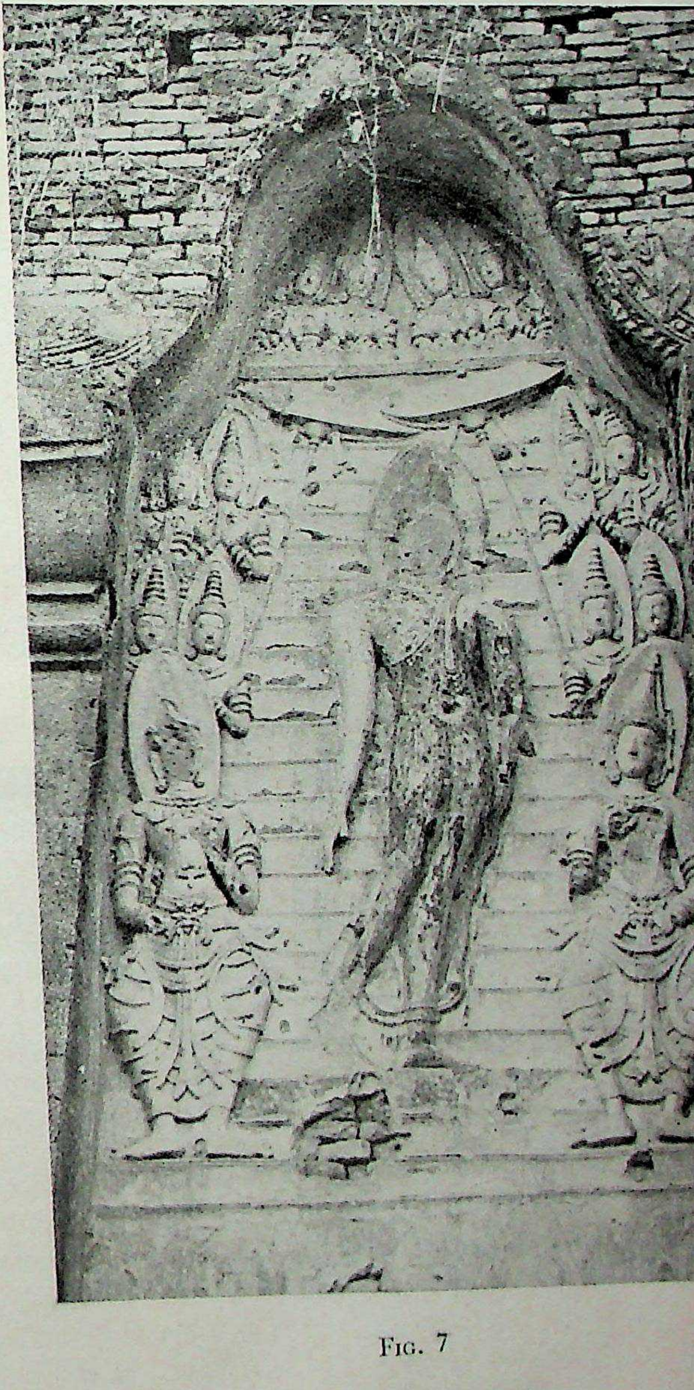


FIG. 7

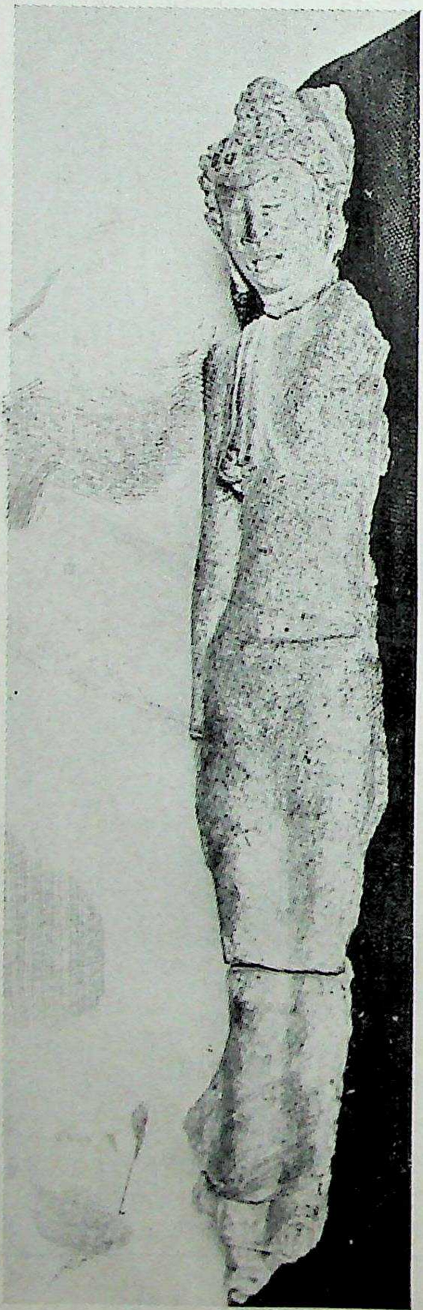


FIG. 8-A

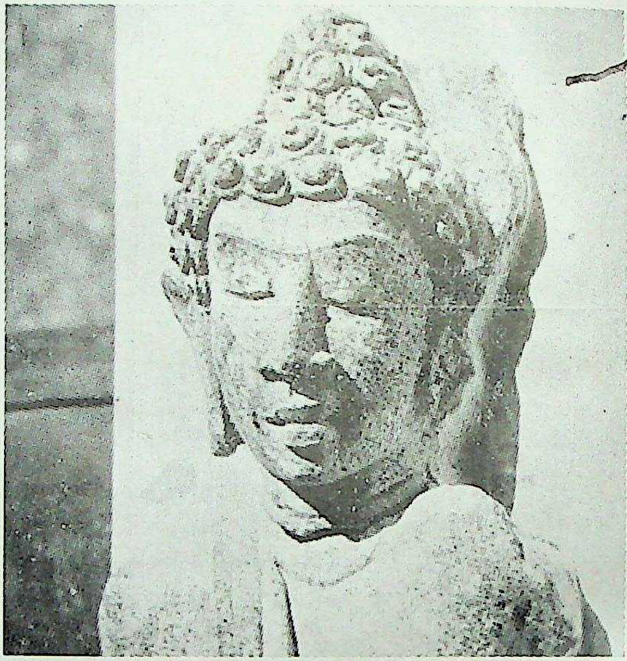


FIG. 8-B

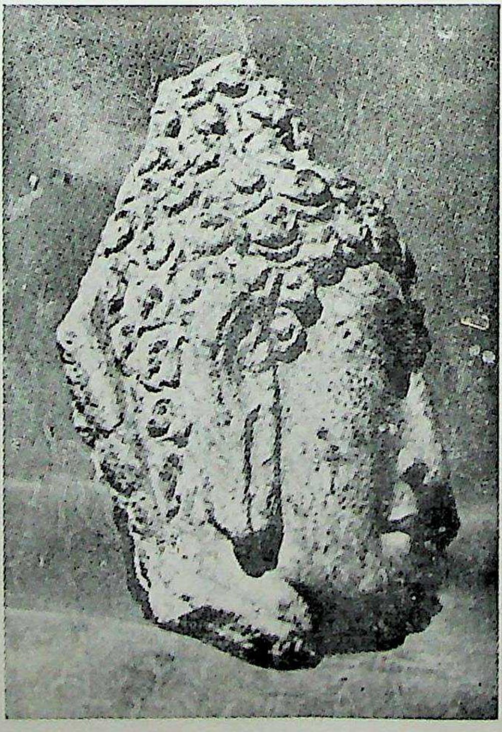


FIG. 8-C

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

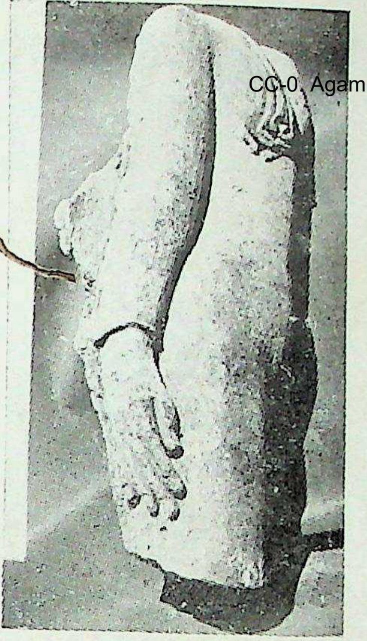


FIG. 8-D

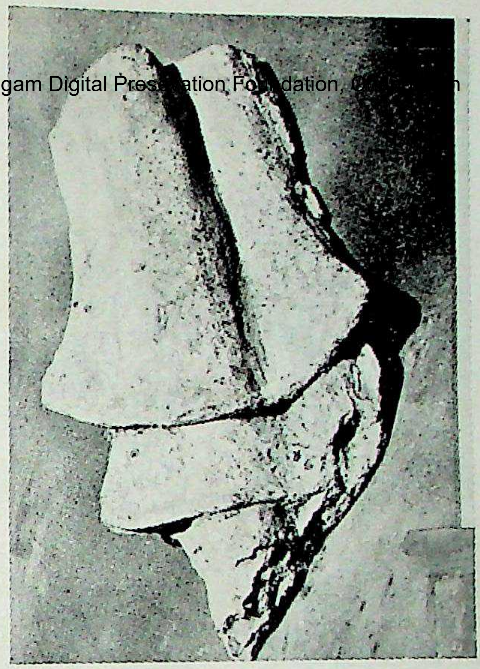


FIG. 8-E

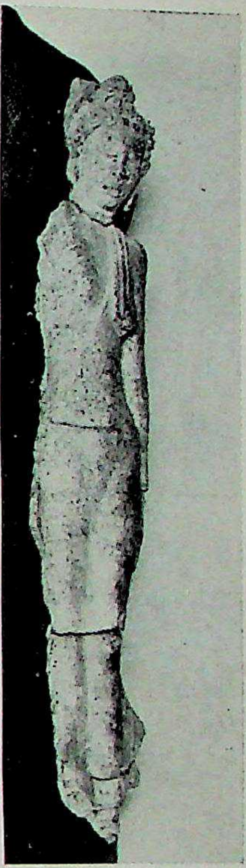
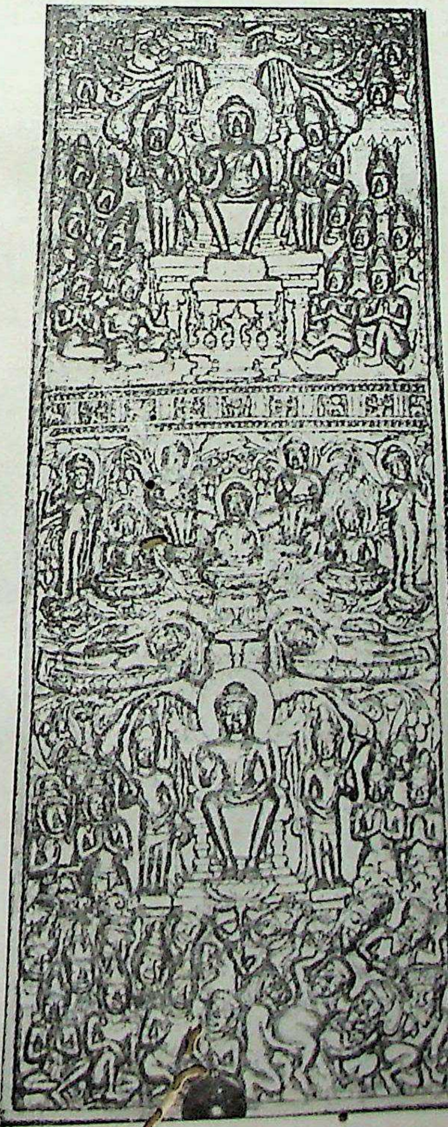
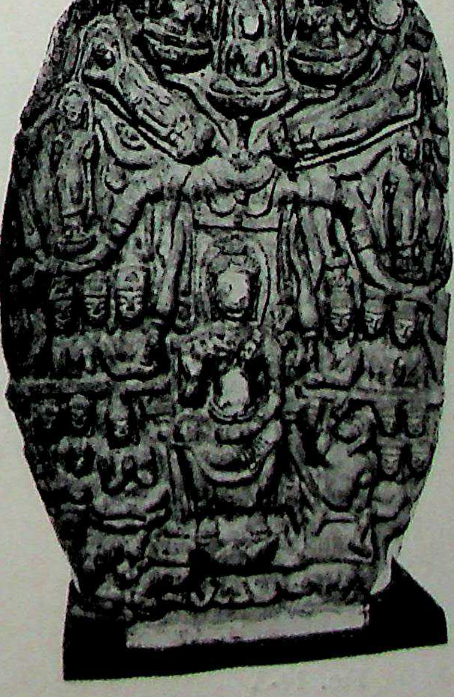


FIG. 8-F





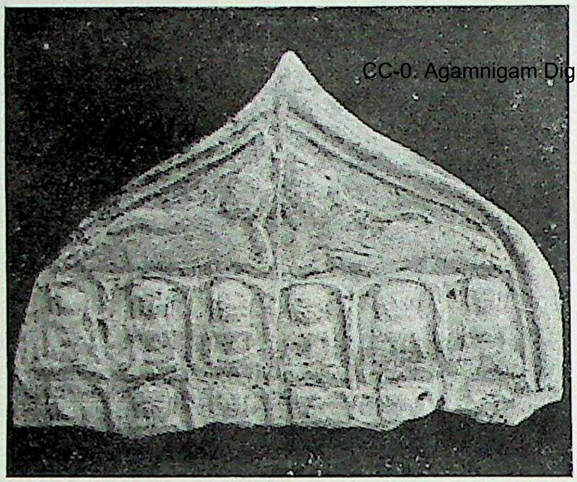


FIG. 11

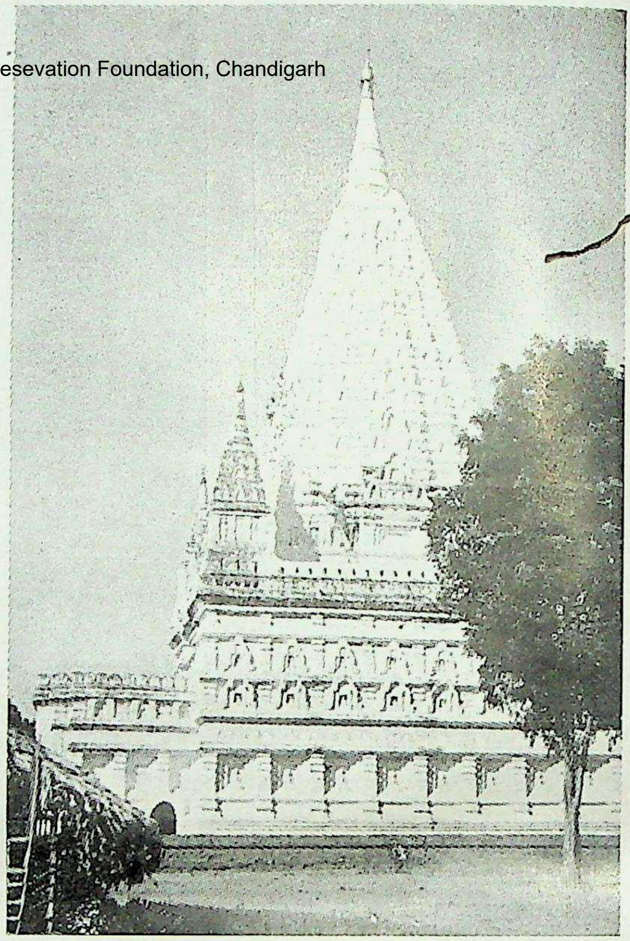


FIG. 13

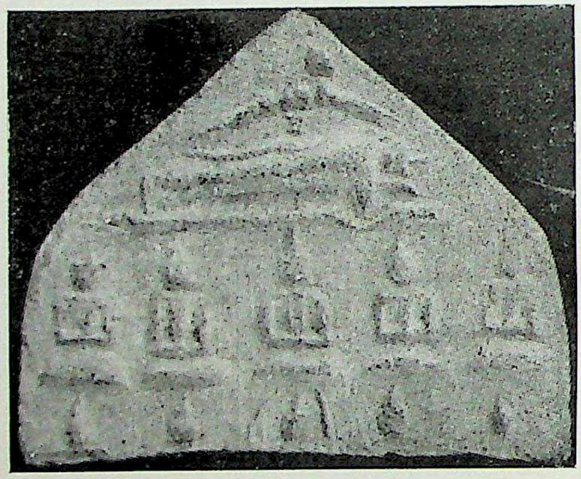


FIG. 12

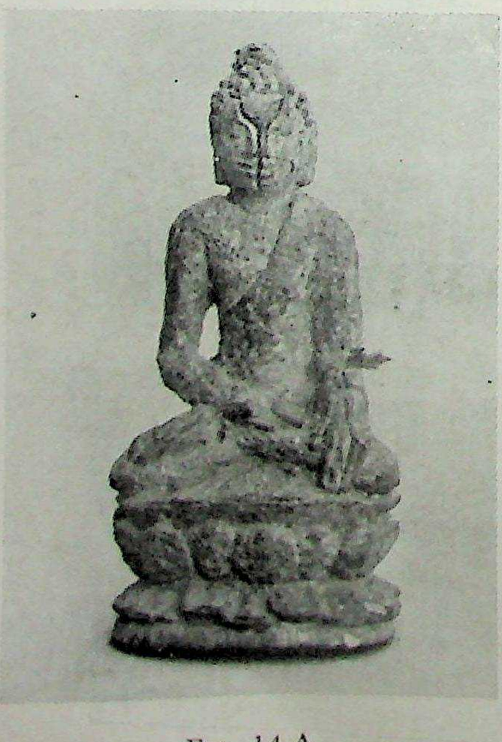


FIG. 14-A

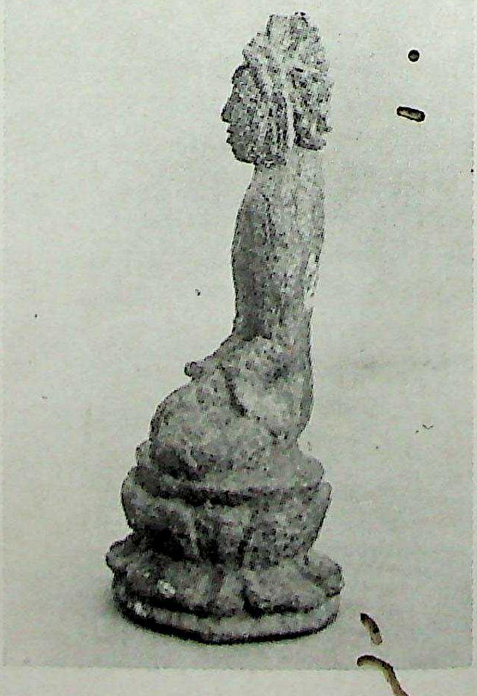


FIG. 14-B

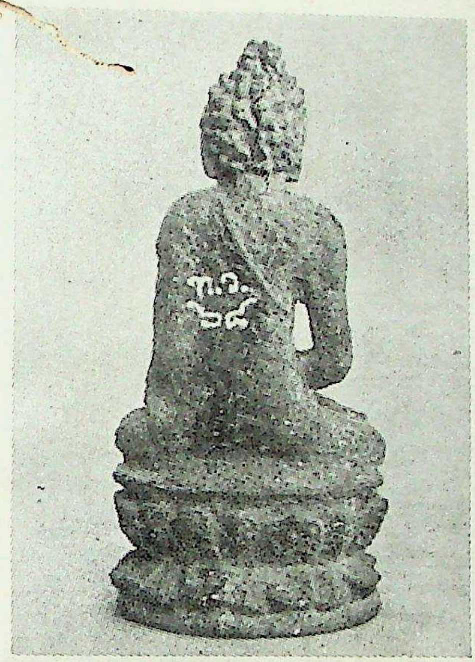


FIG. 14-C

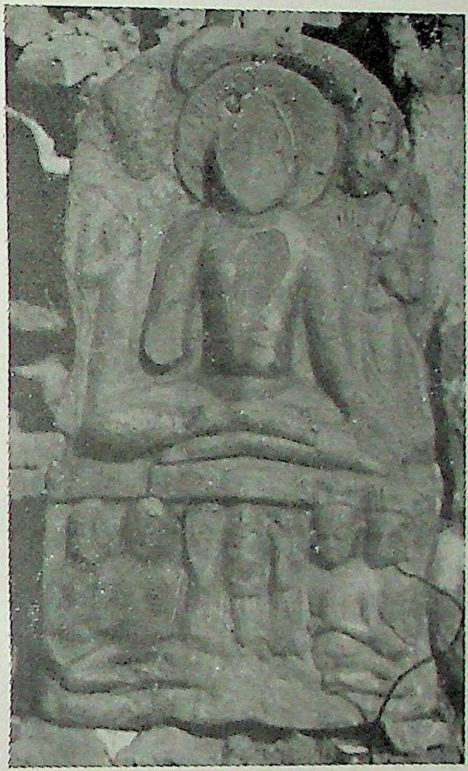


FIG. 16

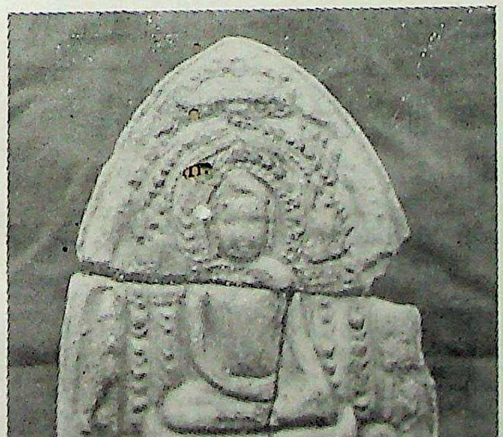


FIG. 15

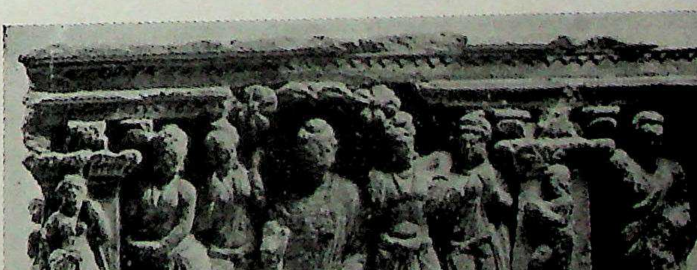


FIG. 17

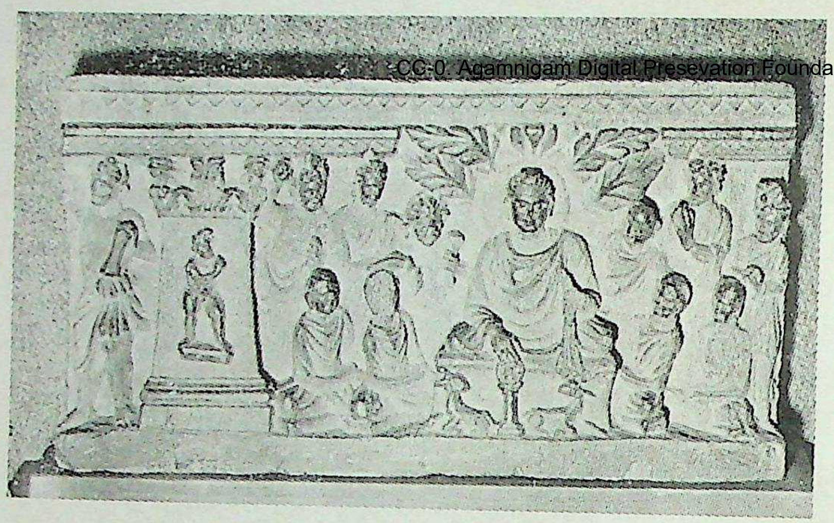


Fig. 18

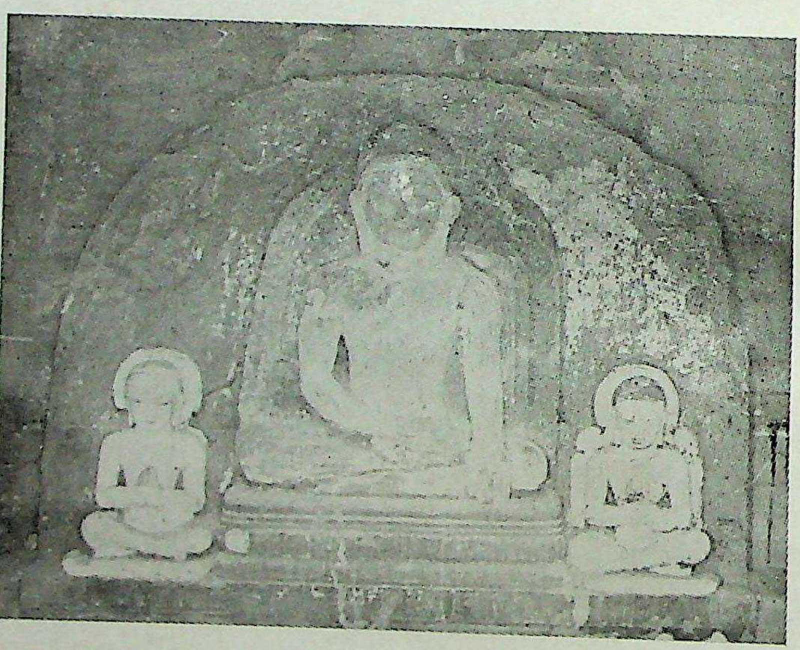


Fig. 19

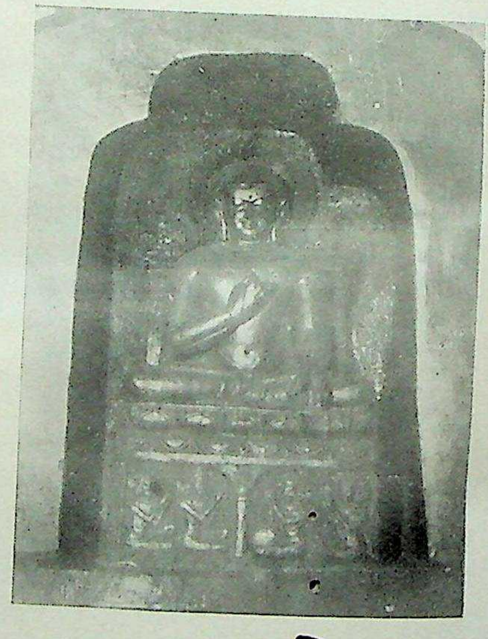


Fig. 21

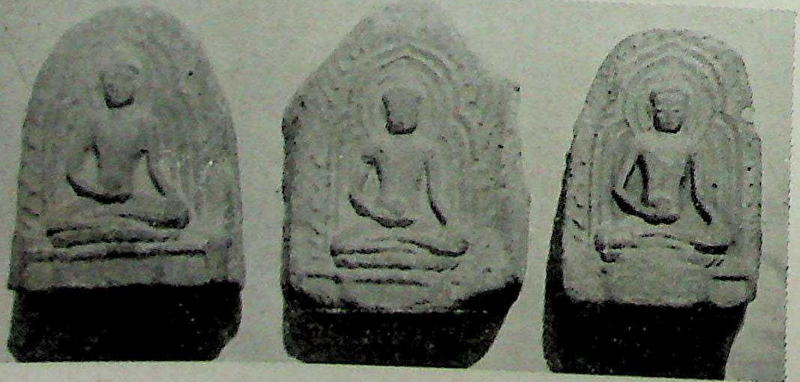


Fig. 20

THE STONE OF KAÑJURUHA (DINAJA) 682 ŚAKA

H. B. Sarkar

A fragment of this inscription was found in 1904 by Mr. Leydie Melville at Dinaja, a village to the north-west of Malang in the residency of Pasuruhan. About 1923, Mr. C. W. Maurenbrecher, Controller B. B. of Malang, received the information that in *desa* Merjosari, a place to the north-west of Malang, two stone fragments have been found. On close examination they appeared to be the long lost upper and lower portions of the Dinaja inscription.[1] So the inscription is now quite complete. The stone is now preserved at the Museum at Jakarta where it is numbered D. 113. A photo of the first fragment forms Oudh. Comm. no 743,[2] while a facsimile of it has been published in OJO (pl. 1). The complete facsimile was published by Dr. Bosch[3] in 1924.

Dr. Brandes[4] wrote a notice of this inscription as early as 1904. He remarked that the stone is of extreme importance, both because it dates from 682 śakā as also because it is the oldest inscription written in the Old-Javanese script. The first transcription of the fragment found in 1904 was made by the same scholar, and it was published in 1913 as no. 1 in OJO. Three years later, Dr. Bosch offered a revised reading of the inscription,[5] whereto additions and corrections were made in 1923.[6] As the lost fragments of this inscription were discovered in this year, Dr. Bosch[7] published a transcription of these portions in 1924 with elaborate critical notes. The complete transcription was, however, published by Poerbatjaraka.[8] De Casparis[9] has offered a fresh reading and translation of the inscription with elaborate notes.

Previous editions of this inscription had however some drawbacks and no apology is therefore needed to publish a re-edition, because, apart from epigraphic reasons, the record contains important historical data, and unless the verses containing these data are properly understood these are likely to present a distorted picture of the whole sequence of things. Here an attempt has been made to translate the verses from strict Sanskritist's point of view and thereby place the historical data in their correct perspective. Some obscure words and verses, which were not, in my opinion, properly understood, have also been interpreted here in a way which will, I hope, meet the difficulties referred to by previous editors of this inscription.

The inscription of Dinaja is usually designated as the earliest specimen of the Old-Javanese script. It has, however, close similarity with the alphabets of the Canggal inscription, wherefrom the Dinaja inscription mainly differs in such letters as *ra*[10] and *sa*, particularly in the former. All other forms being more or less similar, there is no necessity of seeking the home-land of this so-called Old-

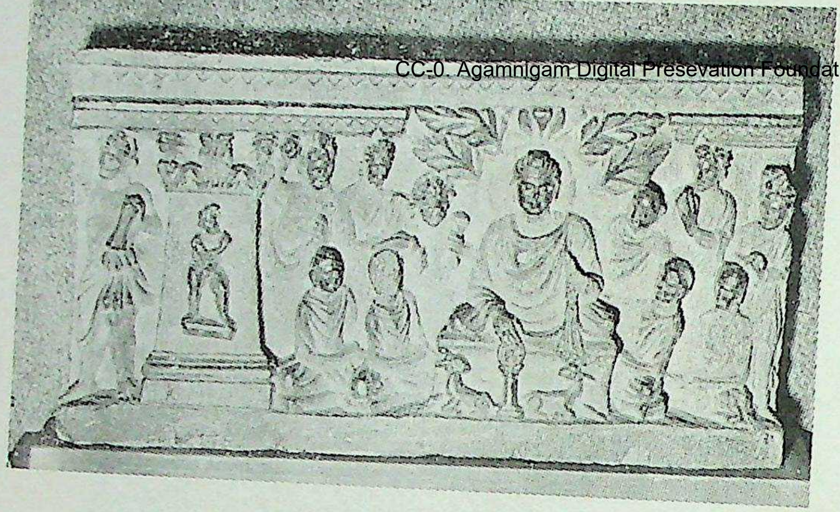


FIG. 18

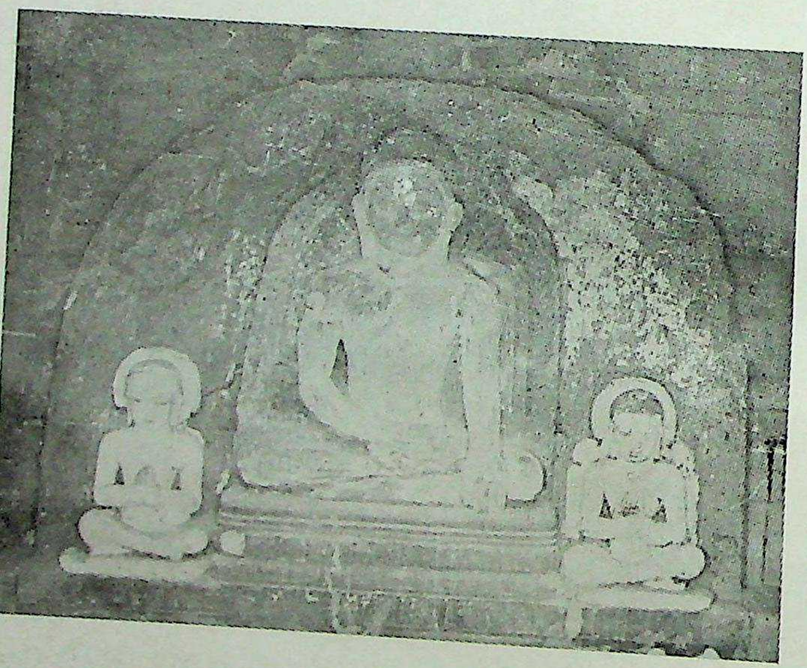


FIG. 19

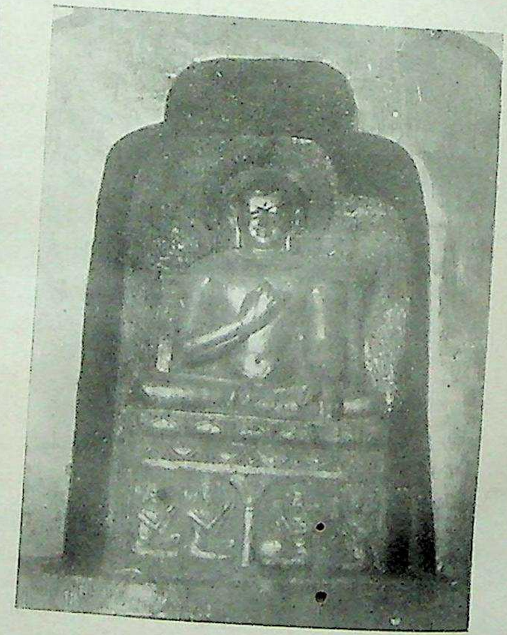
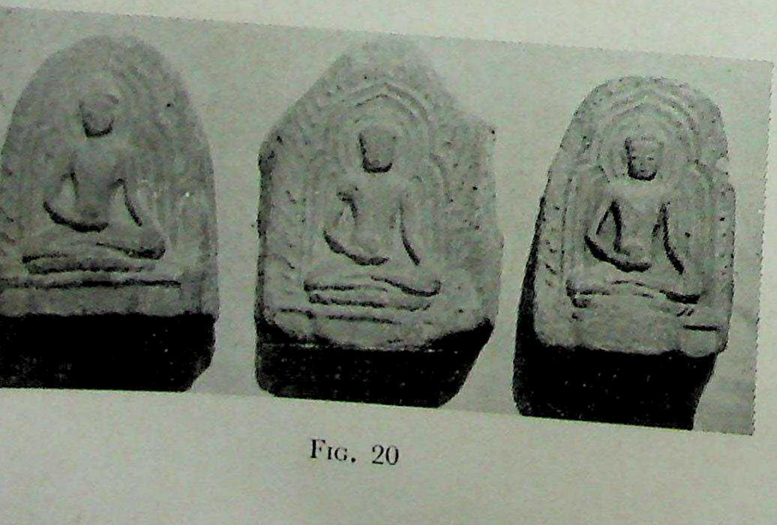


FIG. 21



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Javanese script in India proper[11] : it may be regarded as a natural evolution of the Canggal-script.

The record measuring 1. 10. M. in height has been indistinctly written in 26 lines. Several places of this inscription cannot also be read now, as some letters on the disjointed places have completely disappeared. All other places can be read with some difficulty.

The record opens with an account of a royal dynasty, at the head of which we find Devasiṃha. He was followed by his son Limva who was also known as Gajayāna. It was Gajayāna who founded a temple of Agastya and established there the image of the great seer, made of black marble, with the help of the officiating priests and others. Of the religious persons, particular mention has been made of *Yati-s* and *Veda*-knowing priests. The reference to a guest-house, evidently meant for pilgrims, is also highly interesting, as it tends to show the excellent arrangement made in religious matters. According to Damais,[12] the date of the inscription corresponds to 28th Nov., 760 A.D.

The inscription is written in 9 stanzas of Sankrit verses and the following metres have been used : Vv. 1-3 Anuṣṭubh 3-5, 8-9, Vasantatilaka ; 6-7, Sragdharā. The language is more or less grammatically correct.

TEXT

1. svasti śakavarṣātīta[1] 682
2. āsīt narapatiḥ dhīmān[2] devasiṃhaḥ pra-
3. tāpavan yena gupt(ā)[3] purī bhāti[4] pūtikeśva-
4. rapāvitā ‖ li*mv*aḥ api[5] tanayaḥ tasya gajayānaḥ[6]
5. iti smṛtaḥ rarakṣa svarggate[7] tāte pura*ṃ* kāñ*ju*ruham mahān[8] ‖
6. li*mv*asya duhitā jajñe pradaputrasya[9] bhūpateḥ[10] utteja-
7. nā iti[11] mahiṣī jananī yasya dhīmataḥ ‖ ā*nanda*naḥ[12] kalaśa-
8. je bhagavati agastye[13] bhaktaḥ[14] dvijātihitakṛd gaja*yā*nanā(mā)
9. pauraiḥ[15] sanāyakagaṇaiḥ samakārayat tad ramyaṃ maha-
10. rṣibhavanaṃ valahājiri-yaḥ[16] ‖ pūrvvaiḥ kṛtāṃ tu suradārumayī(ṃ)
11. samīkṣya kīrttipriyaḥ[17] *ka*lasa*ja*pratimām[18] manasvī ājñā-
12. pya śilpinamaram saḥ[19] *ca*[20] dīrghadarśśī[21] kṛṣṇādbhutopalama-
13. yīṃ nṛpatiḥ cakāra[22] ‖ rājñāgastyaḥ śakābde nayanavasu[23]
14. rase mārggaśīrṣe ca māse ārdra(ṛ)kṣe[24] śukravāre pratipa-
15. dadivase[24a] pakṣasandhau dhruve[25] ≃ ṛtvigbhiḥ vedavidbhiḥ yativara[26]
16. sahitaiḥ sthāpakādyaiḥ sahoraiḥ[27] karmajñaiḥ kumbhalagne sudṛḍha-[28]
17. matimatā sthāpitaḥ kumbhayoniḥ ‖ kṣetraṃ gāvaḥ supuṣṭāḥ mahiṣa-
18. gaṇayutāḥ dāsadāsīpurogāḥ[29] dattā rājñā maharṣipravaracaruha-
19. vissnāna*sa*mvarddhanādi[30] vyāpārārthaṃ dvijānāṃ bhavanamapi vṛhat[31]
20. danturam[32] ca adbhutaṃ ca[33] viśrambhāya atithīnāṃ[34] yavayavi-

21. kaśayyācchādaṇaiḥ[35] suprayuktam ॥ ye bāndhavāḥ nṛpasutāḥ ca[36]
22. samantrimukhyāḥ[37] dattau nṛpasya yadi te pratikulacittāḥ[38] nāsti-
23. kyadoṣakuṭilāḥ[39] narake pateyuḥ na amutra[40] ceha ca gatim
24. paramāṃ[41] labhante ॥ vaṃśyāḥ nṛpasya rucitāḥ[42] yadi dattivṛddhau āstikya-
25. śuddhamatayaḥ kṛta*vi*prapūjāḥ[43] dānādyapuṇyayajanāddhyayanā-
26. diśilāḥ[44] rakṣantu rājya(m) *atulaṃ*[45] nṛpatiḥ yathā evam ॥

TRANSLATION

Hail ! The Śaka year expired, 682.

1. There was a wise and mighty lord of men (named) Devasiṃha, by whom protected[1] the capital-city[2] sanctified by Pūtikeśvara[3] illuminates[4] (all directions).
2. His son Limva was known as Gajayāna.[5] (That) great one protected the capital-city (called) Kañjuruha when his father went to heaven.
3. Limva had a daughter born unto him ; she is Uttejanā and is the consort of the wise king Jananīya, son of Prada.[6]
4. (That king) of the name of Gajayāna, who was well-supplied (?) with royal servants,[7] to whom the Divine Pitcher-born Agastya was a delight and who was devoted, who was the benefactor of the twice-born, had, with (the help of) citizens working under their leaders, caused to be built that beautiful abode of the Great Seer.
5. The high-minded and fore-sighted king who was a lover of fame, having seen the image of the pitcher-born one founded by (his) predecessors[8] to be made of *Devadāru* wood, ordered the sculptor and got beautifully prepared an image in black and wonderful marble.
6. In the Śaka year 682 in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, while the lunar mansion was Ārdrā, on Friday, at the juncture of the two fortnights or surely on the first day of the lunar cycle, in the *lagna* of Kumbha, was installed by the king of firm disposition (the image of) Kumbhayoni (i.e. Agastya)[9] with (the help of) the officiating priests versed in the *Vedas* and adept in rituals, together with the best of *Yati*-s (ascetics), and the astrologers, the sculptors and others.
7. Land, well-fed cows, together with herds of buffaloes, with male and female servants at the front—(all these) were given by the king to provide for the *caru* and *havis*—offerings, ablution and worship of the foremost of the great seers[10] as well as a big rest-house for the guests of the twice-born class, strange-looking with teeth-like decorations[11] and furnished with covers of barley-straw beds.
8. If the relatives and sons of the king, with the principal ministers, being polluted by unbelief, do have a revolting attitude towards the

king's gifts, they will go to hell and would not attain bliss, either in this world or in the next.

9. If the descendants of the king are disposed to augment the gifts, with their minds purified by faith, if they worship the Brahmins and are accustomed to perform meritorious acts like the making of gifts, performance of sacred rites and the study (of the sacred lore).—may they protect the kingdom just like the (present) king.

NOTES

1. *OV*, 1923, p. 88 ; *TBG*, 64 (1924) p. 227.
2. *Rapp.*, 1911. p. 98.
3. *TBG*, 64 (1924) p. 228.
4. *Rapp.*, 1904, p. 9.
5. *TBG*, 57(1916) pp. 410-444,
6. *OV*, 1923, pp. 29-35.
7. *TBG*, 64(1924) pp. 227 ff.
8. *Agastya*, pp. 52 ff.
9. *TBG*, 81(1941) pp. 499 ff.
10. The *ra* has sometimes been written without the serif. This characteristic was prasent in Northern Indian epigraphy long before the eigth century A.D. and may be considered to be an archaic type.
11. Brandes (*Ency. Ned. Ind.*, III²) sought the origin of the *Kawi*-script in Girṇar (Gujerat) alphabets, but he has been plausibly criticised by Krom in *Geschiedenis*, pp. 138 ff.
12. *BEFEO* 46 (1952 p. 23 (table).

Notes on Text

1. Read : °tītaḥ or °tīte. The above form however occurs all along in Jav. inscriptions.
2. Read : āsīnnarapatirdhī°.
3. De Casparis (=DC) *gupta* ; Bosch : (=B) gupta(ḥ),
4. B : paribhāti.
5. Read : limvo'pi. Italics indicate uncertain reading in the text.
6. Read : °na.
7. Thus reads Vogel (*OV*, 1923 p. 30). B. originally read : swarggage.
8. This portion was originally read as : sutāñ puruṣān mahā≍, but this violates the metre, DC reads : pur*am* kañ*ju*ruhan mahat. I tried to read the word as : kāḍutuhan=kraton. From grammatical point of view, the reading of °ruhan is wrong.

9. DC reads : °putrā. If there be any ā at all, it falls on the broken joint of the fragments.
10. Read : °ter.
11. Read : °neti.
12. DC's reading.
13. Read : °tyagastye.
14. Read : bhakto.
15. B. first read it as maunaiḥ. Vogel (*OV*, 1923, p. 30) appears to be correct in offering the reading given above.
16. Poerbatjaraka (*Agastya* p. 52) suggests : °rim yah. B's reading of °ri*bh*yaḥ was doubted by Vogel (*op. cit*). DC reads : °ri*dh*yah. According to Damais (*BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 23 f.n. 3) the word is : °riḍyaḥ. No reading appears satisfactory to me nor are they very intelligible.
17. Poerbatjaraka (*Agastya*, p. 52) mis-reads it as : °rti.
18. So reads Vogel (*OV*, 1923, p. 30) ; it was previously read as : *talagata*°.
19. Read : *sa*.
20. Vogel (*op. cit.*) first suggested this reading. *cf.* this word with *ca* in 1.14, Can it, after all. be *tu* ?
21. Poerbatjaraka (*op. cit.*) misreads it as : °rśī.
22. Read : nṛpatiścakāra.
23. Poerbatjaraka's (*op. cit.*) reading of °wayu° is unreasonable.
24. The reading of ardrarthe by Bosch (*TBG*, 57, p. 411 ff.) and ārdrā° by Poerbatjaraka (*op. cit*,) appears to be incorrect. I do not also read ārdhra°, such as Vogel reads (*OV*, *op. cit.*). *Ṛkṣa* is a synonym of *nakṣatra*.

24a. According to grammar : *pratipaddi*°.

25. Vogel (*op. cit.*) suggests here *vā* which appears to have the force of *ca*.
26. Read : °bhirvedavidbhiryati°.
27. Bosch (*op. cit.*) and Poerbatjaraka (*op. cit.*) read : °maunaiḥ. Sapauraiḥ was suggested by Vogel (*op. cit.*). Damais however thinks this reading to be impossible and reads *sahoraiḥ* (*BEFEO*. 46, p. 23 f. n. 3). According to him, the letter in question has similarity with *ha* in *Valahāji*, and hence the word is to be read as *sahoraiḥ* i.e. with astrologer. The reading of Damais appears probable to me.
28. *Su*. omitted by DC.
29. Read : °puṣṭā, °yutā and °purogā. Bosch (*op. cit.*) read °dāsī°, which is obviously a printing mistake.
30. DC : sam*m*ārjanādi. To me, the reading of °mmā° seems to be very improbable, as the compound *va* seems to be distinct. I would have preferred the reading of the compound as °*hvā*, thus snāna *ā*hvāyanādi, but the reading of ā seems very doubtful. So I stick to the older reading.

31. DC reads : Vṛhat ; previous reading was : gṛham.
32. *Danturam* is the reading of DC.
33. Read : danturañcādbhutañca.
34. B : °tithi°.
35. B's reading of °śayya° (*op. cit.*) and Poerbatjaraka's reading of °śayā (*op. cit.*) seem to be wrong, as otherwise the metre will break down here.
36. Read : bāndhavā nṛpasutāśca.
37. Read : °khyā.
38. Read : °cittā.
39. Read : kuṭilā.
40. Read : pateyurnāmutra.
41. This is the reading of DC.
42. B reads °dhitāḥ, which is perhaps wrong. cf. *ca* in the preceding line.
43. This is the reading of DC.
44. Read : °ādhyayanādi°. According to Kern (OV 1923, p. 29) the above mentioned spelling of the word is a common mistake in South Indian documents.
45. DC.

Notes on Translation

1. Later inscriptions will indicate that a dead (=apotheosised) king not only protected the *Kratons* but also created freeholds.
2. This probably corresponds to the *kaḍatuan* (kraton) of Old. Jav. inscriptions. DC. translates the word by 'kingdom'. He also suggests that this *puram* may be represented by modern Kĕjuron. Regarding *Purim*, *Puram* and *Kaḍatuan*, see Damais in *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 22. f. n. 3.
3. This is the special form of Śiva-Rudra, See *TBG*, *op. cit.*, pp. 231 ff. 280 ff.
4. The use of the present tense is noteworthy.
5. He is supposed by some to be identical with Ki-yen of the Chinese annals. See Groeneveldt, *Notes* p. 13 ; Poerbatjaraka. *Agastya* p. 109. See Damais, *TBG*, 83 (1949) pp. 24-25 for comments.
6. No other alternative translation of this verse seems to be possible.

   Some previous scholars dragged in Ānandana from the following verse to read : Jananī yasya dhīmataḥ Ānandanaḥ". See *TBG* 67 p. 472 in this connexion. But both the context and the metre end with *dhīmataḥ*. So it will be arbitrary to drag in ānandanaḥ from the next verse composed in Vasantatilaka metre to make him the offspring of Uttejanā in the preceding verse composed in Anuṣṭubh-metre. As a matter of fact, ānandanaḥ is an adjective to Gajayāna occurring in the same verse and is accordingly in the nominative case. I therefore disagree from the views of Poerbatjaraka (*op. cit.*) p. 53 and Bosch (*TBG* 67 p. 472) in this matter. It would have been much better if Bosch had stuck to his previous views on Prada(putra) and Jananīya as given in *TBG* 64 p. 230. His translation of the verse tallies with ours.

The latest translation is by DC (*TBG*, 81 pp. 501, 504-505) : "Limva had a daughter born unto him, the king being gifted with a progeny who became the consort of the wise Jananīya." This translation seems to me to be indefensible from grammatical points of view. As a *duhitā* cannot be called a *pradaputrā* (because the feminine of *putra* is *putrī* and not putrā. Even if the medial ā be visible on the facsimile, which I do not see, then the Sandhi-rule will make the compound equivalent to pradaputra + asya = pradaputrāsya and not °putrā + asya, as the word putrā is grammatically wrong) ; so the translation of the latter word by "being gifted with a progeny" is untenable. That being so, all the genitive cases such as pradaputrasya, bhūpateḥ, Jananīyasya and dhīmataḥ must refer to the same person i.e. Jananīya. DC moreover omits Uttejanā from his translation. On the one hand he says that pradaputra is the adjective of Uttejanā, on the other hand he makes it the adjective of Limva in his translation : ("Limwa werd een dochter geboren, nakomelingschap schenkend aan dien vorst die de echtgenoote werd van den wijzen Jananīya."

If the reading is Pradaputra, then the following constructions are possible :

1. Limvasya duhitā jajñe | pradaputrasya dhīmataḥ bhūpateḥ jananīyasya (sā) utterjanā iti mahiṣī.
2. Limvasya duhitā jajñe | dhīmataḥ bhūpateḥ pradaputrasya jananīyasya (sā) uttejanā iti mahiṣī.
3. Dhīmataḥ bhūpateḥ pradaputrasya limvasya (here prada = Devasiṃha in the same way as Limva = Gajayāna) duhitā jajñe | jananīyasya (sā) uttejanā iti mahiṣī.
4. Bhūpateḥ pradaputrasya limvasya duhitā jajñe |(sā) dhīmataḥ jananīyasya uttejanā iti mahiṣī.

If *visarga* is deemed to have been omitted after Prada through mistake, the construction would be :

1. Limvasya duhitā jajñe || Pradaḥ putrāsya bhūpateḥ | uttejanā iti mahiṣī yasya dhīmataḥ jananī.

   I would have preferred this as the best translation, because it gives a complete genealogy of the family. Thus "Limva had a daughter born unto him ; that king's (i.e. Limva's) son was Prada ; the queen named Uttejanā was the mother of that wise one (i.e. Limva)." Secondly, the very name Jananīya is, in itself, rather extraordinary.

If the word be Pradaputrā, then the following construction is possible :

1. Limvasya duhitā jajñe | asya dhīmataḥ bhūpateḥ jananīyasya pradaputrā uttejanā iti mahiṣī.

   Translation : "Limva had a daughter born unto him. That wise king Jananīya's queen was known as Uttejanā, who was gifted with a son."

   This translation is objectionable, because the pronoun *asya* should refer to the person previously named, but here it refers to Jananīya. If it refers to Limva, the construction does not yield any sense.

   In view of these difficulties, I have accepted the translation given above.

7. In Old-Jav. *valahāji* may mean 'royal servants' which may be intended here. The interpretation of the term by Poerbatjaraka (*Agastya* p. 54) and de Casparis (*TBG*, 81, p. 501) does not also appear satisfactory to me. Walahājiridyaḥ does not appear to me to be the name of the abode of the Seer, as Prof. de Casparis suggests. As the word is in the nominative case, it must qualify Gajayāna, and not maharṣibhavanaṃ.

8. It is generally held that the cult of Agastya, which is closely associated with the worship of Śiva, came from Southern India. Now, it has been stated in our inscription that one of the ancestors of king Limva had established an image of the great Seer. If so, the date of that ancestor should be at least 682 śaka minus 25 years, i.e., 657 śaka. As the Canggal inscription mentions that king Sañjaya founded in 654 śaka a Śiva-*liṅga* (which is connected with the cult of Agastya), it appears probable that the cult of Agastya was introduced at Dinaja at least in the middle of the 7th Śaka century.

9. Regarding the translation of this portion, with notes, by de Casparis [(*TBG*, 81 (1941) p. 501, 506-7)] see the comments of Damais in *BEFEO* 46 (1952) p. 22 f. n. 2. I hope the riddle of *dhruve vā* is solved by the translation given above.

10. By *maharṣipravara* obviously the great seer Agastya has been intended.

11. The word *danturam* occurs in many places of Sanskrit literature, for instance, in the hymns to goddess Kāli, consort of Śiva. The word used above obviously refers to what the Dutch Archaeologists call the *Kālamakara*-motif. It is the combination of two different *motifs*, viz the Kāla and the Makara. The monstrous Kāla-head is an effigy of the awful god Kāla. It is really adopted from the Indian *motif* of a lion's head and Coomaraswami rightly describes it as a grotesque *Kīrttimukha*. The projecting teeth on two sides of the conventional Kīrttimukha or Kālamakara *motif* occurring almost everywhere in Java, either over the gateway, in the centre of an enclosing arch, above the niche or in the interior of the building gave a distinctive feature to the guest-house, which has accordingly been called—not inappropriately—*danturam* (having teeth-like decorations) and *adbhutam* (strange-looking). This would then be the earliest refernce to Kīrttimukha-motif in Java. About Kīrttimukha vide Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīrpa pt.* II, pp. 169-70.

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সভাপতির অভিভাষণ—

১। বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্য পরিষৎ—মেদিনীপুর শাখার ত্রিশ বার্ষিক উৎসব (বৈশাখ, ১৩৫৭)।

২। নিখিল ভারত বঙ্গসাহিত্য সম্মেলনের জয়পুর অধিবেশন—"ইতিহাসের বিকৃতি" শিক্ষক, (অগ্রহায়ণ, ১৩৬০) পত্রিকায় মুদ্রিত।

৩। পশ্চিমবঙ্গ শিক্ষক সমিতি—প্রথম সাধারণ সম্মেলন (১৩ই অগস্ট, ১৯৪৯ খ্রীঃ)।

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